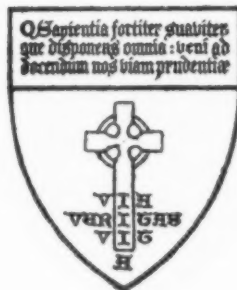


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EDITED BY

FREDERICK C. GRANT and BURTON S. EASTON

FOUNDED BY SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

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CONCEPTIONS OF PREACHING IN THE YALE LECTURES

By JOHN L. CASTEEL

Union Theological Seminary

The Yale Lectures on Preaching have come to hold a place without counterpart in American theological education. Their genius may be said to lie in the witness they bear that theological doctrine should be made pertinent to the work of the ministry. Under the grant of establishment, which provides for the appointment to the lectureship of "a minister of the Gospel, of any evangelical denomination, who has been markedly successful in the specific work of the Christian ministry," there has appeared a succession of lecturers whose reputations in themselves would have been a guarantee of a wide reception for the lectures. But in nearly every instance these lectures have been fresh offerings, distilled from the wisdom and experience of the author, worthy to stand upon their own merits.

Among the contributions, those from Anglicans, such as David Greer, Bishop Charles Williams, Herbert Hensley Henson, and Walter Russell Bowie, to name only a few, have been of significant merit; and an Episcopalian layman, ex-Senator George Wharton Pepper, has the distinction of being the only layman

called to the lectureship. By general consent, of course, the crown of the lectureship still rests with Phillips Brooks' *Lectures on Preaching*. Dean Sperry relates how he went, upon receiving the invitation to the lectureship, to consult his colleague, Francis Greenwood Peabody—himself the lecturer in 1905—and how Peabody said to him, "But what are you going to say? Phillips Brooks said all that can be said about preaching, and all that needs to be said, long ago."¹ While all of the lecturers have succeeded in saying something new out of their own experience, or in reaffirming much that has been said but still needs restatement, this judgment must stand.

The Yale lectures, however, are more than an exhibit of the stream of experience arising in any one part of the Christian Church. Anglicans, Baptists, Congregationalists, Lutherans, Methodists and Presbyterians have participated through the years. While the reader may find divergences of opinion on a wide spread of subjects, he would be hard put to it to identify the ecclesias-

¹ *We Prophesy in Part* (1938), p. v.

tical heritage of any lecturer by the point of view taken toward any particular subject. At the same time, the reader will find most of the essential judgments concerning the life and work of the minister affirmed by spokesmen from all these sections of the Church. To this extent, indeed, the lectures may be said to bear witness to the practical ecumenicity of American Protestantism, and of the British churches represented, as well.

In the opinion of this succession of notable preachers, what is the nature and function of preaching? And has there been any significant change in the conception of the essential purposes of preaching, in the seventy years since Beecher opened the lectureship? The student of the lectures might well have anticipated both divergences of opinion as to nature and function arising out of diverse theological backgrounds, and changes of conception brought about by shifting currents of theology and of church practice over the past seventy years. Neither anticipation is fulfilled, as this review endeavors to show. At least five principal conceptions of preaching may be discerned in the lectures; these appear, however, not so much as contradictory or mutually exclusive conceptions as they do in the nature of facets or aspects of a central ideal, assumed where it is not always expressed.

That central ideal might be said to rest in the conception of preaching as divinely inspired utterance. None of the lecturers dissent from this fundamental point of view. Rather, there is frequent reassertion of the continuity between preaching and the inspired utterances of the prophets, as well as the Spirit-given word proclaimed by the

apostles. Though the ultimate source and precise nature of the experience by which "a man gets divine fire from heaven are beyond our understanding," said Dean Sperry, "we dare not deny it."²

This divine inspiration distinguishes preaching from other forms of address. Nathaniel Burton thought that "A sermon gets to be a sermon and saves itself from being a lecture by being made, and delivered, in the Holy Ghost."³ P. T. Forsyth analyzed this distinction between secular address and preaching with great penetration. "The Christian preacher is not the successor of the Greek orator," he declared, "but of the Hebrew prophet. The operator comes with but an inspiration, the prophet with a revelation."⁴

In what manner and by what means is this divine revelation to be received? The most extreme position was taken here by Robert F. Horton, who maintained that "every living preacher must receive his message in a communication direct from God";⁵ indeed, he must have received it "in that form on that occasion, and with that application."⁶ Such a revelation might come through the "inexplicable phenomena of dreams," through ecstacy, by the strengthening of the natural faculties and the illumination of the intelligence, and by the "quiet and unexcited communion of the soul with its Maker."⁷ It is hardly surprising that twenty-five years later John Kelman referred to the controversy that arose on both sides of the Atlantic "re-

² *Ibid.*, p. 29.

³ *In Pulpit and Parish* (1888), p. 63.

⁴ *Positive Preaching and the Modern Mind* (1907), p. 3.

⁵ *Verbum Dei* (1893), p. 17.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 49 ff.

garding the main contention of the book."⁸

Most of the lecturers have taken a more moderate position with respect to the reception of the Spirit in preaching. For many, inspiration and revelation come to the preacher through his own personal religious experience. This theme was developed with fine insight by Gunsaulus.⁹ The minister's "call to preach" constitutes another primary source of divine inspiration. Emphasis upon this sense of personal commission was by no means confined to the earlier lectures, but was given prominence by such recent lectures as Calkins,¹⁰ Selater,¹¹ and Mouzon.¹² Bishop Simpson proposed three evidences of the genuineness of a man's call: a persuasion which deepens into an intense conviction that he is called to preach; the approval set by the church upon his ministry; and the sense that "as he speaks, exhorts, preaches . . . he will find the Spirit of God accompanies his labors."¹³ Still another source of inspiration is the minister's life of personal devotion. "Unless he has spent the week with God and received divine communications, it would be better not to enter the pulpit at all," was Stalker's conclusion.¹⁴

Any claim to the possession of divine inspiration always raises the question of an adequate criterion for its validity. The lecturers who discuss this theme have been more concerned with emphasizing the necessity of such inspira-

tion than with the application of tests of its authenticity. But, as Dean Sperry pointed out, "even at this late date, there is no adequate apparatus" for validating the divine promptings. He rejected Calvin's test, that of concurrence with the Bible, as being "of all known methods for the verification of inspiration" the least satisfactory, and suggested two possible tests: the conformity of a man's character with his words; and the common sense of the Christian community.¹⁵ Other lecturers cautioned against taking momentary enthusiasms for divine communications and advised careful reflection upon the light which breaks upon the preacher.

If preaching be thus conceived as utterance prompted by divine inspiration, what then is to be the preacher's homiletical method? At this point, practical experience asserts its judgment. Divine prompting is not to be taken as a substitute for careful preparation. "The more intelligently he believes that he is a 'laborer together with God' the more diligently will he work to make his discourse as effectual as possible," declared William Mackergo Tayler, of the Broadway Tabernacle.¹⁶ Phillips Brooks warned the preacher "not to be tempted by the fascination of the spontaneous." A general impression of the "piety of extemporaneousness" leads men to "float over the whole sea of truth, and plunge here and there, like a gull, on any subject that suits their mood."¹⁷

Rather, inspired preaching should be regarded essentially as an art. Though, Horton insisted upon direct revelation for the time, place and application, he accepted this point of view: "It is

⁸ *The War and Preaching* (1919), p. 17.

⁹ *The Minister and the Spiritual Life* (1911).

¹⁰ *The Eloquence of Christian Experience* (1927), p. 24.

¹¹ *The Public Worship of God* (1927), p. 176.

¹² *Preaching with Authority* (1929), p. 229.

¹³ *Lectures on Preaching* (1879), pp. 42 ff.

¹⁴ *The Preacher and His Models* (1893), p. 52.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 65 ff.

¹⁶ *The Ministry of the Word* (1876), p. 107.

¹⁷ *Lectures on Preaching* (1877), pp. 90 ff.

largely a question of taking pains. . . . Whatever approved methods there may be of fixing attention and of communicating truth, let them all be employed in this supreme task of speech, the delivery of the Word of God."¹⁸ As an art, preaching goes beyond the sufficiencies of logic and rhetoric, as Bishop McDowell remarked.¹⁹ The best elocution, thought Bishop David Greer, then of St. Bartholomew's, is "the elocution of the man who, with some gift for preaching, stirs up the gift that is in him, and without much thought of elocution simply prepares to preach."²⁰ This guarded opinion of "elocution" was shared by other lectures of the nineties. Those acquainted with the Del Sartian extravagances of the period will understand how the elocution teacher might have been regarded with a suspicion greater than that bestowed by some upon the exponents of Darwinianism.

The consensus upon the question of homiletical method found a summary statement in the opinion of John Kelman, who believed that there never could be a completely satisfactory manual of preaching. The highest preaching must be "the adventure of a man's own individual genius and in reaching it the preacher may break every rule." But, perhaps recalling his audience of young theologians, he added, "Yet departure from rules is not for the beginner and can be nothing but a danger and a snare to him"²¹—as the preaching of many a pulpit innovator proves.

Following the trend of American religious thought over these seventy years,

the lectures gave prominence to the conception of preaching as evangelism aiming at individual salvation, and as the proclamation of the social Gospel, aiming at the reform of society. There was not, however, a steady transition from the first to the second, as might have been supposed. As early as 1887, Washington Gladden had delivered his first series of addresses devoted primarily to the social message, under the title, *Tools and the Man*. And Raymond Calkins, in his lectures of 1926, on *The Eloquence of Christian Experience*, treated the message of individual salvation as thoroughly as any discussion given this theme in the span of the lectureship. Evangelism in the revivalistic sense, of course, disappeared early from the interests of the lecturers. Only Beecher gave much space to the "laws and philosophy of revivals." After him, the subject was circumspectly avoided by his successors from the well-settled metropolitan churches. But Beecher also recognized the importance of the social Gospel, claiming that "the pulpit has the right and the duty to discuss social themes, moral questions, in politics, slavery, war and peace, . . . commerce, industry and political economy."²²

This charter principle of "right and duty" has been maintained throughout the whole period of the lectureship; but it often has been accompanied by admonitions concerning the dangers that beset the preaching of a social message. The preacher who ventures into political questions may impair his power to speak upon spiritual matters. Again, in view of the complexity of social issues, he may find himself espousing causes and opinions unwarranted by

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 277-278.

¹⁹ *Good Ministers of Jesus Christ* (1917), p. 104.

²⁰ *The Preacher and His Place* (1895), p. 188.

²¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 101.

²² *Lectures on Preaching, First Series* (1872), p. 110.

facts and disavowed by the thoughtful members of his congregation. Worst of all, he may become habituated to a tone of denunciation and an unjustified assumption of the role of crusader, mistaking, as Bishop McDowell warned "violent speech for true speech, and a needless, self-imposed dramatic martyrdom for fidelity and courage."²³

From the abundance of well-tempered advice given upon this theme, several principles can be set down as governing a man's proclamation of the social Gospel. First, such preaching should be spiritual in its tone and aim. As Phillips Brooks said, the preacher ought to see the social conditions of his time as "reflections of the nation's spiritual state," and to make his aim, therefore, "not simply at securing order and peace, but at making good men, securing a 'holy nations.'"²⁴ Second, this preaching should be characterized, in Dean Sperry's phrase, by the "dispassionateness of prophecy."²⁵ Charles Reynolds Brown urged men to acquire the "non-partisan habit of mind which comes from the 'view from above' of the real prophets."²⁶ Thirdly, preaching of the social message should deal with principles, not details. "I must deal with motives, not methods; principles, not policies; spiritual dynamics, not merely economic mechanics," declared Bishop Charles Williams.²⁷ Albert Parker Fitch found a primary cause for the loss of power in the contemporary pulpit in the ministers' "expertness in terms of local

problems rather than in the wider tendencies that produce and carry them, or in the ultimate laws of conduct that should govern them."²⁸ This does not mean, as Henry Sloane Coffin's admirably balanced discussion of this theme points out, that the minister should hesitate to deal with "the motives and social effects of any policy."²⁹

A fourth principle governing the social message is, that the preacher's proclamation should be controlled by his responsibility to the Church. While he must have freedom in that proclamation, he must bear in mind his obligation to the body that authorizes and sustains him. The tension between these poles of freedom and responsibility was recognized by a number of lecturers. Let the church have a care lest she muzzle her prophets, warned Mouzon.³⁰ On the other hand, as Forsyth pointed out, the minister in the pulpit is "not a free lance. He enters a position of trust he did not create."³¹

The resolution of this tension may be found in the fifth principle: the preacher should proclaim the social Gospel in the spirit of Love. "How far should a preacher give utterance to truths which are disagreeable to his hearers?" Beecher was asked in 1872. So far, the first lecturer replied, as he can learn to "speak the truth in love. Instruct in meekness those who oppose you, for peradventure God will give them repentance."³² To this judgment no lecturer has taken exception.

The conception of preaching as evan-

²³ *Op. cit.*, p. 96.

²⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 141.

²⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 38.

²⁶ *The Social Message of the Modern Pulpit* (1906), p. 250.

²⁷ *The Prophetic Ministry for Today* (1921), p. 125.

²⁸ *Preaching and Paganism* (1920), p. 33.

²⁹ *In a Day of Social Rebuilding* (1918), p. 103.

³⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 224.

³¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 101.

³² *Op. cit.*, p. 101.

gelism permeates the entire lecture series. In the broadest and deepest sense, the preacher's function is to proclaim the Gospel of man's redemption through Christ. The earlier lecturers proceeded as though assuming that this Gospel is generally understood, and that phrases such as "coming to Christ" had creditable currency among their listeners. In the later lectures the trumpet gave a more uncertain sound. "Neither those who preach nor those who listen are quite sure of what the gospel is or ought to be in relation to the world and the time in which we live; but our urgent business is to discover that," observed Walter Russell Bowie.³³

What is the relative importance of the social, and the individual, Gospel in the opinion of the Yale lecturers? Three positions may be indicated. By some, the primacy of the Gospel for the regeneration of individual men has been asserted. W. Aiken Smart expressed this point of view: "The solution of social problems will not necessarily make men religious. If we should eliminate from our world war, or unemployment, or racial prejudice . . . there would be no guarantee that souls living in that beatific state would therefore be religious."³⁴ Others have taken the position that, as John R. P. Selater, distinguished moderator of the United Church of Canada, expressed it, "the changed society will come through changed men and women."³⁵ George A. Gordon saw in "every individual convert another pledge of the coming social conversion."³⁶ Still others, while

not minimizing the importance of an evangelical message, have maintained that the full redemption of individuals requires a reformed society. As James Stalker pointed out, "Sin is not only lodged in the heart of the individual: it is embodied also in evil customs and unjust laws, for which the community is responsible. The individual is largely moulded by his environment."³⁷ The divergences here indicated, however, are gathered up in the wisdom of Washington Gladden, a pioneer of social reform in this country: "The end of Christianity is two-fold, a perfect man in a perfect society. These purposes cannot be separated. No man can be redeemed alone; no community can be reformed and elevated save as the individuals of which it is composed are regenerated."³⁸

The homiletical method appropriate to the preaching of individual salvation develops upon somewhat familiar lines. Its aim is the individual; in Phillips Brooks's phrase, the preacher must "not take his eye off the single soul as the prize he is to win."³⁹ Gunsaulus scored the ineffectualness of some of the preaching of his time for becoming "impersonal enough to permit hundreds of personal beings constituting a congregation to impersonalize themselves into what we call an *audience*."⁴⁰ What would have been his opinion had he seen the effect of steady attendance at that most impersonal of all public gatherings, the moving pictures, in deepening and fixating this attitude in the response of a later generation?

³³ *The Renewing Gospel* (1935), p. 39.

³⁴ *Preaching in These Times* (1940), p. 133.

³⁵ *The Public Worship of God* (1927), p. 90.

³⁶ *Ultimate Conceptions of Faith* (1903), p. 223.

³⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 79.

³⁸ *Tools and the Man* (1893), p. 1.

³⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 22.

⁴⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 232.

Not only is evangelism personal in aim, but it draws its authority largely from the preacher's own religious experience. Calkins defined a sermon as "the effort to express one's experience of God through Christ."⁴¹ Phillips Brooks, however, strongly criticized the excessive use of "the autobiographical style of preaching," in which the listener could write the biography of the preacher after listening to him for a year.⁴²

On what basis of appeal ought the preaching of salvation to be founded? This question was discussed at length by some of the earlier lecturers. Robert H. Dale enumerated over eleven proper motives on which to make the invitation to accept Christ.⁴³ The sharpest question centered upon the appeal to fear. "Don't you think lurid influences are relied upon too extensively?" Beecher was asked. He agreed that they were, especially by revivalists with "immense bellies and immense chests and big underheads," but he thought, also, that it was out of the question to preach to the "boatmen and the gamblers of Arkansas, and to all the riffraff of the community, unless you bring the motive of fear to bear upon them."⁴⁴ A stronger emphasis, however, was placed by most lecturers, Beecher among them, upon the depiction of God's love as the highest basis of appeal. It may be significant to note that, while more recent lecturers consider the theme of God's love in various connections, they devote less attention to the problems of method by which the gospel to individuals may

be presented, a personal decision motivated, and an effective appeal enlisted. If we no longer use fear as a basis for evangelical appeal, is it because we have found other motives more effectual, or because we no longer address it to "the riffraff of the community"?

Appropriate homiletical procedure for preaching the social Gospel has been implied in the five principles set forth above. A strong insistence has been made by a number of contributors upon the point that for the discussion of social issues, the preacher must make the most painstaking preparation. He must be accurate in the ascertaining of his facts, and scrupulous in the arrangement of his argument. In doing so, he is faced with the question, as J. Edgar Park pointed out, whether he is to "aim to present the objective truth," or to be a "propagandist." Park concluded that the preacher must take the latter alternative, but, "must be a propagandist on the basis of all the facts he knows."⁴⁵ This issue, however, can hardly be said to receive definitive treatment in the Yale series. Preaching of the social gospel still needs what Bishop McConnell described as "a fully ethical method in the radical presentation of a religious message."⁴⁶

The conception of preaching as a teaching function of the pulpit pervades the entire series of Yale lectures. Three aspects of this function can be discerned: preaching as exposition of Scripture; as instruction in faith and doctrine; and as education in moral and ethical principles. Expository preaching has received extensive treatment, from a very commendable discussion by

⁴¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 128.

⁴² *Op. cit.*, p. 116.

⁴³ *Nine Lectures on Preaching* (1878), pp. 203 ff.

⁴⁴ *Lectures, Second Series* (1873), p. 239.

⁴⁵ *The Miracle of Preaching* (1936), pp. 17 ff.

⁴⁶ *The Prophetic Ministry* (1930), p. 232.

John Hall, the second lecturer of the series,⁴⁷ to W. Aiken Smart's contribution in the symposium of 1940.⁴⁸ Instruction in doctrine has been given less prominence in recent years, although a renewal of interest may now be appearing, as Smart's lecture indicates.

The assumption that the pulpit is at all adequate for the educational duties of the church was sharply challenged by Henry Clay Trumbull, who delivered his lectures during the first flush of enthusiasm over the rising Sunday School movement. "To rely upon pulpit preaching as a primary means of religious instruction," he declared, "is to act counter to God's plan"—that is, "interlocutory or catechetical teaching" in the Sunday School.⁴⁹ Trumbull found this interlocutory method authorized in the earliest practices of religious instruction as described in the Bible. His suggestions on preaching to children remain as practical as any to be found in the series.⁵⁰

The principal homiletical suggestion given for preaching as teaching is that of the use of the sermons series, as against the practice, described by Dean Brown, of "vaulting suddenly into the saddle of some theme and riding it hastily into the pulpit the following Sunday."⁵¹ As a basis for a constructive sequence of sermons, the Christian Year was commended—somewhat unexpectedly—the most heartily by men from the non-liturgical tradition.

For accomplishing the ends of instructional preaching, the illustration

might be said to be the chief instrument. Beecher's lecture on "Rhetorical Illustrations"⁵² has long been considered classic by both rhetoricians and homiletes. Though the use of example and illustration has been treated by writers upon the art of rhetoric since classical times, Beecher seems to have been the first to draw attention to its value as a means of "resting" the audience at points of listening fatigue. Deserving to be better known are the treatments given to this theme by Dean Brown,⁵³ and W. M. Taylor.⁵⁴ Their discussion is as comprehensive as Beecher's, and has the added wisdom of cautioning against the indiscriminate use of illustrative material, by which the preacher is tempted to the finding of illustrations on every homiletical bush.

The central importance of the sermon in American Protestant tradition is implied in the designation of this lectureship as the "Lyman Beecher Lectureship on Preaching." In recent years, however, this suzerainty of the pulpit discourse has been called in question by the tendency toward a more varied, if not liturgical, practice of worship. The reader of the Yale lectures is prompted by this development to ask what the point of view of the lecturers may be upon the relation of preaching to other aspects of the service of worship, and whether the sermon itself has been regarded by any as itself an inherent act of worship?

The positions taken toward the first part of this question might have been anticipated: particularly among the earlier lecturers the sermon was regarded as the chief feature of the church serv-

⁴⁷ *God's Word Through Preaching* (1875).

⁴⁸ *Preaching in These Times* (1940), Lecture V: "Old Wine in New Bottles."

⁴⁹ *The Sunday School* (1888), p. 225.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 365 ff.

⁵¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 36.

⁵² *First Series*, Lecture VII.

⁵³ *The Art of Preaching* (1923), pp. 110 ff.

⁵⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 183 ff.

ive, while liturgy was looked upon with some suspicion. "Wherever you shall find the altar and the sacrifice, robes and liturgies and candles," said Beecher, "sermons shrink and sermonizers are fewer and fewer."⁵⁵ But in later years an increasing number of contributors were saying that, as Charles E. Jefferson put it, "to make the sermon the be-all and end-all" was a "devastating blunder," because it ignores the deeply seated worshipping instinct.⁵⁶ And throughout the series there have been spokesmen for the judgment voiced by John Watson that sermon and service are inseparable: "The service spiritualizes and softens the heart for the message of God, and the Evangel is the answer to praise and prayer."⁵⁷

Can the sermon be regarded as being in itself an inherent act of worship? John Hall, W. N. Taylor, and Charles Jefferson are among those who spoke of the sermon as a sacrifice to be offered before God. P. T. Forsyth declared the sermon to be a "sacramental act, done together with the community in the name and power of Christ's redeeming act and our common faith."⁵⁸ Taylor thought that "preaching and hearing the Word of God, when they are engaged in by pastor and people out of love to Christ, are as really worship as praise and prayer";⁵⁹ and Bishop Simpson spoke of that communion with God which, during the sermon, "accompanies the Word and is mysteriously working in the hearts of his congregation."⁶⁰ Morgan Phelps Noyes, in the latest of

the published lectures, maintains that, "If the sermon links the worshipper with his Christian heritage in the Bible and the Church, . . . if it lays hold on the worshipper so that as he listens he makes his response not to the preacher but to God whose Word finds the worshipper through the sermon, then legitimately it may be said that the sermon is not distinct from the church's act of worship, but is a living part of that worship."⁶¹

Considering the whole span of the lectureship, however, it may be said that this two-fold problem of the relation of the sermon to the other elements of the service of worship, and of the sermon in its character as an inherent act of worship, has been hardly more than explored. This conclusion would seem true, particularly, with respect to homiletical method. In this province, the Yale lectures have continued in the more or less unexamined tradition of Protestant preaching. While delivered now from the burden of excessive partition, and the complexities of logical structure and exegetical minutiae that brought Puritan preaching into disfavor, that tradition still continues to accept the basic assumptions of the rhetorical systems from which the Puritan method was derived. The same point of departure for the sermon, the same schemes in organization, the same large dependence upon illustration, as both sign and example, remain the chief tools-of-the-trade, not only for these lecturers, but in most of the diluted handbooks on preaching that get printed in our time.

Is there something in the proclamation of the Christian Gospel that cannot be served adequately by this tradition?

⁵⁵ *First Series*, p. 15.

⁵⁶ *The Building of the Church* (1910), p. 123.

⁵⁷ *The Cure of Souls* (1896), p. 253.

⁵⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 82.

⁵⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 207.

⁶⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 211.

⁶¹ *Preaching the Word of God* (1943), p. 179.

Kierkegaard thought that a new science was needed, "Christian oratory, to be constructed *ad modum* Aristotle's rhetoric."⁶² But whereas Aristotle aimed at awakening *pistis* in the probable, Christian rhetoric would be concerned with the improbable, so that a man could believe it. We need not accept Kierkegaard's premise here in order to feel the pertinency of his proposal, just as one need not become an adherent of Karl Barth in order to observe that his message can hardly be set forth in the conventionalized pattern of the cus-

⁶² *Journal*, trans. by Alexander Dru (1938), p. 138.

tomary Protestant sermon. If preaching is to be worship, may there not be categories of style, patterns of organization, points of departure and consummation, that are not contained in our present schemes of homiletics? And would not the discovery and mastery of these principles do much to lift preaching from its present state of disfavor, and to restore it once more to a meaningful place in the whole drama of Christian worship?

It will be a point of eager expectancy to observe whether future lecturers upon this notable foundation will venture to lead us into this undeveloped province of pulpit discourse.

THE SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF CHRISTIAN WORSHIP

By ERIC MONTIZAMBERT

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Nothing is more certain than that, ere the peace terms are settled, strife will develop between reactionary politicians on the one hand and liberal Christian statesmen on the other. An English parliamentarian recently rebuked the Archbishops for their deep concern with the primary human problems by which the post-war peoples will be faced. The moribund Nineteenth Century viewpoint of this man was revealed in the vicious language in which he said to our spiritual leaders, "Go back to your business of being priests!" Unfortunately the writer of those words, an ex-Canadian journalist who won a seat at Westminster through sheer political genius, is typical of that great body of the people's representatives on both sides of the sea who are blind to

the doctrinal content of the Gospel and also its practical application to life in the living. Often they are good men whose sincerity is impeccable, and whose passion for "keeping the Church in its place" must be ascribed to a religious education as faulty as it is dull. The projector of this attack upon the Archbishops, in his manifest desire to save the lives of these men—insofar as political favor can be regarded as life—has evidently not learned the meaning of the poignant utterance of Jesus, "Whosoever will save his life shall lose it: but whosoever will lose his life for my sake, the same shall save it." The Church, inasmuch as she partakes of the Kingdom of God, cannot escape involvement in the whole process of life without apostasy. She is integrated with the

entire fabric of human relationships. She dare not, lest she lose her soul, submit to the prescription of the field of her activity by forces outside herself.

Yet this attitude toward the Church on the part of certain powerful laymen, this tragic allegiance to the always false and now moribund philosophy which sharply distinguishes between the *sacred* and the *secular*, is in large measure the fault of our religious leadership. No ecclesiastical historian is likely to repudiate the charge that the rampant materialism of the last century was, in high degree, the immediate result of the Church's failure to realize the social implications of its own Gospel. It was not the dominant political, social, and economic secularism of the day which produced the frightened parson who believed that he had finished his duty toward mankind when he had comforted the dying, urged the cruelly underpaid laborer to be content with his wages, or plumbed the depths of the human problem by creating peace between the rival heads of his parochial guilds. Rather, it was the inability of the professional religionist first to grasp and then to present a Gospel which manifestly involves the entire movement of man's living, and which refuses to permit the "secular" leader to ignore the controlling principles of Judaism and Christianity alike. As long ago as 1845, the mild Frederick Denison Maurice was scorned and persecuted simply because, following St. Paul whom the crastian churchman and his political confrere detested with an equal passion, he insisted that this Faith could function adequately only through its thorough involvement with the social process. While redemption was, in the first instance, an individual affair, the individ-

ual could not be separated from his family, nor the family from the nation, nor the nation from the world. He was individually converted that he might become socially conscious. Neither Jew nor Christian in the face of the dangers and inequalities of life could cry, "Am I my brother's keeper?" Despite this—perhaps because of it—the "secularist" insisted with much vehemence that the clergy must limit their functioning to the realm of "prayer and praise" with occasional efforts to play the Good Samaritan toward the victims of social failure and economic privilege. The priest could be no more than an attendant holding the safety net for the acrobats in the circus of life.

He, the "secularist," made a sharp division between what, with a curious ignorance of the make-up of man and the nature of religion, he chose to call "the sacred and the secular, the religious and the profane." But today no such answer to the progressive new Christian sociology is possible. William Temple's thorough exposé of the old position as biologically impossible, philosophically false, and theologically absurd has compelled a reconsideration of the function of the Church in all human relationships. "Nothing is secular because everything is sacred."¹ In other words, God did not create a dual universe with an impenetrable partition between that which was His concern, and that which He would ignore. The Christian is preoccupied with the whole wide universe from the cabbage patch of Mrs. Wiggs to the "halls of Montezuma." No private playground for the devil was divinely set apart, whether in the realm of politics, economics, or education; and

¹ In *Nature, Man, and God*.

charges, still hurled at random against the Church, that Christian leaders "interfere with business and politics" cannot be sustained in the courts of impartial history. Such accusations, meaningless in the light of Christian sociology though they be, have sometimes been clothed in the outward semblance of the truth. But almost always—from the day when the silver trade unions of Ephesus so charged St. Paul, to the ugly mutterings of the modern parliamentarian—these have been defensive mechanisms put forth in justification of violations of the code of human decency by business and political interests. "Laissez faire" concepts are uneasy in the presence of Christian principle. Even Mr. Gladstone, Churchman though he was, would have been sorely puzzled by the sentence, "The Social Implications of Worship," were it assumed to mean anything more than tea parties at the Vicarage to which the servants were invited.

Of course, as a phrase descriptive of the function of the Church in the field of Christian social relations, *the Social Implications of Worship* is defective. It is defective, that is, unless we are prepared to deepen it far beyond the popular idea of worship as no more than a particular attitude of man toward God: the act of adoration before a somewhat distant Person of majesty, power, and absolute holiness. But, in Christian theology, worship is behavior with God. It is more than man's complete submission in joy to the will of his Master, even as this finds expression in the activity of his relationships with other men under every conceivable condition—digging ditches, selling bananas, singing hymns. It is, in short, the directed attitude of the complete believing per-

sonality toward and with God so that the man is actually functioning within the creative process. He is, properly, the instrument of the Father as He projects His will in the continuous action of creating a new world. Thus worship involves all of man's thinking habits as well as his social actions because he cannot, without losing his faith and much of his identity, separate himself from the divine plan of creation and redemption. If this be true—and an understanding of the New Testament theology compels us to this position—it is no longer possible to defend a theory which, as it tried to separate the Church from the normal life of man by imprisoning it in a cell of localized piety, regarded the Kingdom of God as a sort of secondary spiritual Balkan State. Certainly when St. Augustine wrote his *City of God* he never dreamed that an insular theology would arise to reduce the Kingdom to the narrow limits of the Church on earth, much less to an earthly church subjected to the dictates of a worldly monarch! Neither could he, or any other believing theologian who had read his Bible, have been guilty of language so preposterous as that which tells us that we are "building the Kingdom of God." The Church is within the Kingdom. She is an instrument to be used by Him for its expansion within the temporal sphere. But she is not *the* Kingdom, whole and entire, as conceived in the mind of our Lord, or cast upon the screen of our minds in the magnificent dreaming of the apocalyptists. Here we glimpse the vision of the Omnipotent resistlessly achieving His eternal purpose in the gradual redemption from the dominance of evil of the universe itself, in a concern which embraces Betelgeuse as well

as little Earth. Hence, the phrase "Kingdom of God" is the spiritual alternative to the ugly "Creative Process," and "worship" must be taken to mean free man's cooperative function in the continuing double process of creation and redemption. The two are inseparable segments of one action. They seem to be separate only in the pedestrian movement of the human mind enslaved by the time concept in which life is a procession rather than an expansion. In the idea of the Eternal, "now" alone has meaning, and "oneness" is the solitary term by which the universe is given an adequate description. "Nothing is secular because everything is sacred." This is not pantheism run riot. The "oneness" is not an identity of the Creator with creation, but simply an absolute unity in the irreducible purpose of God for all that proceeds from Him.

This is brought to a focus in the Eucharist. The primitive Catholic doctrine, reflected in the sixth chapter of the Fourth Gospel, conceives of this sacrament as it represents the complete dominance of the spiritual over "the material." The language which speaks of "eating the Flesh" and "drinking the Blood" of the Son of Man, while subject to a localized interpretation in the Communion of believers, transcends the local in the implication that this is in truth a *spiritual universe*; one, that is, in which the divine Power becomes absolute at will. The Eucharistic Presence is the localization for a particular purpose of the universal Presence of the Lord Incarnate. The Church's sacraments are by no means the only "extensions of the Incarnation" nor, by the same token, the only sacraments. Here, of course, we must keep in mind Rudolf Otto's insistence that "God is not every-

where, but only where He wills to be,"² for this idea alone preserves the concept of the double freedom of God and man in which He reserves to Himself the right of withdrawal when His will is defied. Yet the doctrine of the Eucharist assumes a local and, to us, an extremely significant form as it is clothed in liturgical settings. It has become the family meal of believers. As such it not only dissolves every personal and social distinction, but enforces on the participants a specific type of thought and action through which the Will of the Creator, Father, Redeemer, and Sanctifier is to be brought into mastery of the whole life of man. We "feed on Christ" here that He may possess Himself of all that we are as the instruments for the projection of His purpose into the racial consciousness. Still, the Eucharist is but one of the focal points in the universal sacramental Presence of the Redeemer through which He may become "absolute at will."

A controlling purpose of this supreme "act of worship" is the redemption of humanity and its dependents from the serfdom of its so-called "secular controls" which, while always evident among us, have attained their momentary heights of evil in the several Fascist ideologies. That is, in a broad sense, the Pauline significance of the words "for we know that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now"—*now* meaning the advent of the power of the Gospel which is to rescue, by the transforming of controlling motives, the created universe (pre-eminently man) from the dominance of a secularism in which men have been but the chattels of a godless circumstance.

² *The Idea of the Holy*, English edition, 1926.

By "godless circumstance" I mean no more than a condition of man which is the product of freedom exercised without God or in defiance of Him. When, in this connection, Archbishop Temple wrote in *Nature, Man, and God* the brilliant chapter on "The Sacramental Universe" he implied not only that all creation is essentially sacramental, an instrument through which God manifests His creative power, but also that the impact of believing man on human relationships is destined to become dominant over the counter-impact of unbelieving man. Thus if the Spirit of God is to assert ultimate control over all life, this can be only through man's acceptance of the implications involved in Christian worship. Again, worship is not a type of behavior toward God but specific action with Him, submission to His purpose not merely as we can discern it in the Scriptures and in the doctrine of the Church, but also as it is revealed in the actual needs of men as we see them under the bright light of the Gospel. The achievement of this, I am bold to say, is the entire function of the Church as well as the program of practicing Christian sociologists. These men are possessed by the apocalyptic vision of the universe as "one world" waiting, through the activity of man and of spiritual powers beyond him, for the final control of the King.

Those who find themselves in revolt against the apparently revolutionary ideas of William Temple and his friends forget that they are not espousing a momentary enthusiasm for something new brought on by the terror of the times. On the contrary, this passion for "a new world order" is not the invention of Christian idealists who have been victimized by political un-realists who

make capital for themselves by preaching internationalism. It is as old as the Faith itself. It seeks to do no more than to integrate the living fabric of human society with the controlling principles—not methods—of the teaching of our Lord. It strives to reveal and to apply the "good news" of the mode of our redemption as this is exhibited in the biological (organic) conception of the Church: a conception dominant today as it capitalizes the controlling ideas of current science and philosophy. Thus the economic and social theology now dominant is not the hysterical product of men driven mad by wild dreams of "a good time coming," but is the ripening fruit of the seeds of a "new world order" as these are contained in the pods of the historic Faith. The works of Temple, Dawson, Reckitt, Peck and the rest of our Twentieth Century pioneers, rise out of the identical sources which moved Maurice and Kingsley, the sources which are behind Lionel Thornton's great work in biological theology, *The Incarnate Lord*, and the Archbishop's *Nature, Man, and God*. Thornton rediscovered the Pauline conception of the Church as essentially organic and, with a brilliant insight, found it to be wholly congruous with the biologist's viewpoint of the nature of man and the world of which he is a part. Temple, profiting by Thornton's thinking, in turn produced the one picture of the Church in action thereby made possible. The Archbishop's description of life is utterly spiritual, not because he is a man of faith but because no other concept of creation is intellectually possible or religiously meaningful. So these writers, despite their divergences, are profoundly biblical. Their sociological ideas are suggested by the broad

humanism of Thomas Aquinas. They are integrated with the entire fabric of historic Catholic theology and, thus, in and of the doctrine of God as embodied in the New Testament and ever held by the Church; the doctrine which has its obvious counterpart in the doctrine of Man as it has issued in all democratic thinking. Hence Temple's vigorous little book, *Christianity and the Social Order*, is but the application (in action) of the theology of "the Sacramental Universe"; a theology, in turn, completely Pauline though clothed in the speech of our times. It is necessary that this theology be known if we are to be successful in the battle for Christianity which looms upon us. Yet these practical theologians, men of the real world rather than dreamers of the mythological secularity, are not concerned with "modes of government" as such. In utter devotion to the Gospel of God they are seeking the way by which its principles may be integrated with the fabric of man's thinking concerning himself. The consequences of past failure to do this are painfully manifest. The possible repetition of this failure is only too evident in the sociological studies of the Universities: prescriptions for healing with the main ingredient missing, expedients of the moment deprived of the vitalizing power to make them permanent, man substituting his uncertain wits for truth and God!

But, as to biological concepts, the modern theologian is not intrigued by a flashing theory of the academic world. Instead he is delighted to learn that, for the first time in our generation—in any generation—the philosophical biology of the age has unconsciously espoused a primitive Christian convic-

tion. When we speak of "the organic conception of the Church" we are driving back to the New Testament and the ideal of the "Body of Christ" developed by St. Paul in I Corinthians, Colossians and Ephesians wherein he reflects the "timeless" concepts also set forth in the prologue to St. John. These concepts, along with the Eucharistic thinking in John vi, take their tone from the idea of the Incarnate Word suggested in that prologue. They are, in short, not temporal but eternal. They visualise the continuing operation of "the Kingdom of God" through the everlasting presence of the Eternal Christ fulfilling His will as we conform to it. Thus if the Body of Christ is organic it is not static. If it is not static, it is a worshipping Body. Worship is at once its life and the reason for its being, and this being depends upon the relationship to the redeeming Head revealed in the Eucharistic doctrine itself. The "Gloria in Excelsis," climaxing the Eucharistic liturgy, is the expression of our thanksgiving for the entire continuing process of redemption and, at the same time, part of it; for it is only as we are moved to this "thanksgiving," this selfless act of adoration, that we are compelled to the conversion of mankind. And by "the conversion of mankind" we mean the changing of man's heart and mind so that—as he accepts the Mastery of Christ—he will apply the implications of his conversion to every aspect of human relationships with complete indifference. Worship is clearly inseparable from social action. Bishop Weston of Zanzibar was profoundly right when he told a London congress of Anglo-Catholics that it was futile to "worship Jesus on the altar unless you take Him to the

slums." It is not only futile, it is blasphemous. For Jesus is never "on the altar," or in the lives, of those who will not move out of the stillness of adoring piety into the still higher realm of social redemption. Worship, in this broad essential sense, cannot be action restricted to narrow areas of life either by the sultry-mindedness of religious pietists or the expediential prescriptions of politicians who would "keep the Church in her place." It must be action rising out of the dominant idea that "the earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof." As God is "not bound by His own Sacraments," neither is He imprisoned within boundaries prescribed by those of His children who have not yet been enabled to realize the full significance of faith.

But faith results in "Koinonia," and this—while the essential of that peculiar life of the Body of Christ itself—is destined to be operative throughout the entire organism which is humanity in this life and the life which is to come. "Koinonia," in its primary meaning, has to do with "the fellowship of believers" *in* and *through* the Person and work of the Holy Spirit. Certainly this fellowship, the will of God for all men

everywhere, attains its highest point in Eucharistic worship wherein barriers of class, wealth, and power are utterly collapsed. Thus it has a special significance for believers. Yet in the long view of the Gospel, it is not meant to be limited to those who now believe, but is to be extended throughout the fabric of society so that all its members may share its privileges and its duties. This does not mean that social and economic action rising out of the implications of Christian faith and worship is to function *only* among the converted, as the priest and Levite thought while the Samaritan knew better. It cannot mean less than the extension of the fruits of "Koinonia" into the world for the benefit of believer and unbeliever alike. Of course, regardless of its minor applications to local needs, the Christian's controlling concern is now with the extension of this "Spirit of Worship" to the conflict of the nations. The nations are, eventually—as the result of our unswerving action—to be brought within "the fellowship of believers," and so to deal with one another on the one sound basis of the faith and the ethic of our Lord. The mercy of Christ is not for His disciples alone.

Church Congress Syllabus No. 8

THE ANGLICAN TRADITION

PART IV

THE GOLDEN MEAN

By JOSEPH BUCHANAN BERNARDIN

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Manifold is the genius of Anglicanism, and yet its outstanding quality, characteristic, and virtue is its exposition in thought and word and deed of the "Golden Mean." Anglicanism has an innate preference for the middle road; it has a distrust, born of experience, of extremes; it has a native dislike of the spectacular. It is a religion perfectly adapted to the English countryside and loved by all those who there or elsewhere pursue the even tenor of their ways, or have a longing so to do. It is also a religion suited to those who in the thick of battle would keep their heads calm above the storm around them.

Whenever one speaks of Anglicanism as being conservative, or reactionary, or uninterested in the problems of others, one fails to perceive its real nature or to show knowledge of its past or present history; for it is no more committed to the conservative position than it is to the liberal. It has always had the happy faculty of retaining the leaders of both groups within its membership and giving expression through them to ideas and positions on both sides of questions, which in the end keep the great body of the Church itself in that middle position wherein more of the whole truth lies than in any other. The Church values and prides itself on its ability to

retain the allegiance and the loyalty of men and women of widely-differing theological, liturgical, social, and political views. The Church keeps its own balance through the tensions created by its own loyal members, and it would not, down in its heart, part with those of either extreme, however uncomfortable they may make it feel at various times for sundry reasons. So it is at the present time in the matter of militarism and pacifism, with the vast majority of Churchmen believing in neither, but in the painful necessity of using force to control certain violent types of evil. There are always enough loyal extremists within the Church itself to keep it from ever becoming stagnant.

Anglicanism has had the genius to ally itself with, or rather to take unto itself, both learning and leadership. It regards science as the explanation of God's laws and the attempt to put that knowledge to use for the good of God's children. Believing that God is the Creator of the universe, it also believes that science cannot reveal anything which would be discreditable to God or to His religion, although it is fully aware that all men can pervert knowledge to unholy ends for their own selfishness. In consequence, it has attracted to its ranks, or maintained in them, many of

the great scientists and scholars, and it has made its own distinctive contributions to the queen of sciences—theology herself. Hooker, Laud, Andrewes, Taylor, Gore, and Temple are but a few among its theologians; its men of science range from Newton to Jeans; Osler stands out among its physicians.

Its scholars have never been afraid of Biblical criticism, neither have they thought that the latest German guess was the autographic text of Scripture. Less brilliant than others in their conjectures and reconstructions, less original in their approach, they have been sounder in their conclusions and more religious in their attitudes. Although not unwilling to peer and probe into the flaming bush, they have at the same time not forgotten that they were treading upon holy ground and have removed their shoes as they trod. Anglicanism owes much of the soundness of its theology to its humility and to its quiet sense of humour.

For Anglicanism essentially has always been able to laugh at itself in a quiet and jolly and sometimes academic way. It is conscious of its much-loved foibles, and sees certain virtues in many of them which others from the outside do not perceive. The well-known story of the southern bishop amply illustrates this: "A certain man once asked a bishop from the old south if he thought that the Episcopal Church was the only way to heaven. The bishop hesitated for a moment and then replied: 'No, but it's the only way a gentleman would care to go.'"

The sun never sets on the British Empire or on the Anglican Communion, and wherever the Church is to be found there also the leaders in government, education, and business are its mem-

bers. The same qualities which are characteristic of the Church are also generally characteristic of the children whom she has brought up to positions of leadership in the world and maintained in the faith in those positions. In countries, such as the United States, where the rank and file of the people are not members of the Anglican Communion, the proportion of those in responsible positions who belong to the Church is overwhelmingly large. Starting from the days when the majority of the signers of both the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States were Churchmen, there have been more Episcopal Presidents than those of any other faith; and the army tradition from the days of Washington to the present (with Pershing, MacArthur, and Marshall) has been strongly Episcopalian.

Not only the ancient inscription over the oracle at Delphi, *μηδὲν ἄγαν* (*Nothing too much*), but also St. Paul's famous exhortation to the Corinthians: "Let all things be done decently and in order," are among the mottoes of the Anglican Church. The two are related. A typical Anglican service is neither over-elaborate with ritual and ceremony, neither is it lacking in them nor in a sense of reverence expressed in outward acts. It seeks to avoid the extremes both of over-emotionalism and ascetic puritanism. So far there have been few, if any, cases of shouting Anglicans; neither have there been those who are afraid that it is more insincere to express their praise and reverence and penitence by outward acts than by outward words. The Church has, on the whole, shunned the vulgar in art and architecture and music. Even what is now considered bad was better at the

time of its creation than its contemporaries. The Church, in spite of everything, does have a grasp on fundamentals, and it has tried through its Prayer Book and the ritual acts which accompany its use, to focus the attention on God and not on minister or man. Its churches have been designed and constructed with that purpose in view. However, little but death can suppress a minister or acolyte or chorister who wishes to make himself conspicuous by his eccentricities. But that is the human element, and not a part of the Anglican tradition. It is well-nigh impossible completely to ruin the Prayer Book, in spite of the designs of many clergy upon it.

The Prayer Book is an excellent illustration of the Golden Mean, for its material has been drawn from all the ages, and from Catholic, Orthodox, and Protestant sources. It has gone through numerous revisions, in which much has been eliminated, much changed, and much added; and yet in spirit and form it remains ever the same, helping men to speak in common to their God in praise, penitence, and petition in the spirit of their own age.

The Church has a natural genius for worship—an ability to express the aspirations and longings, the successes and failures of the human soul in words of beauty, in expressions which carry the soul on beyond its present spiritual attainments, and hold before it the ideals to which it should progress. It is a worship for all sorts and conditions of men—for those in authority and those without, for the rich and the poor, for the learned and the ignorant, for men, women, and children of every race and clime. At the same time, because the Church does not lower its standards of

worship to the vulgarity of much of past and present life, there will always be those who find it above or beyond them. But the remedy lies not in a lowering of the standard, but in the education of people to an appreciation of the best. And in large part, because the Church has done just this, it is seeing an increasing number of denominations and individuals adopting its standards and appreciating its worship.

Not only is there form and order to Anglican worship, but also to Anglican government. There is a hierarchy of ministry; there is an ordered legislative procedure in parish and convocation and diocese and province and national Church. In this the laity have their rightful part and great responsibility. The Church is democratic in her actual government, even though some of the forms in England are not. But although English episcopal and many other appointments are made by governmental authority, the government is subject to the will of the people and acts for them in this matter, as it does in countless others, with no loss of democratic rule by the people, and often with better results in the actual quality of the episcopate than in countries such as America where it is left to chosen delegates to elect them.

The Church is not governed solely by bishops, or even by the clergy as a whole, but by the clergy and laity combined, in which the bishops play a peculiar but not dominating role. The proper balance is thus maintained between episcopal and congregational rule. But above them all stands something indefinable, the so-called Anglican tradition. Like the British Constitution it is unwritten, but all-powerful. In government as elsewhere, the Church stands between two

extremes, in this case of monarchy and anarchy. Recognizing Christ as its Supreme Ruler, it attempts to give expression to his will under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, through prayerful discussion and determination of this will by bodies of competent men duly chosen for that purpose. Hence the genius of Anglican government is essentially that of the countries and peoples to whom it principally ministers.

In theology, Anglicanism has never worshipped a Lord who is solely divine or solely human, but One Who is both divine and human. Hence, it does not find itself on the side of modern humanism, naturalism, or liberalism run to licence; nor attracted to a solely transcendent God approached only through ascetic privations. As such, the doctrine of the Incarnation has always been central in Anglican theology, perhaps even paramount; while the doctrine of the Atonement has interested Anglican theology chiefly as a result of the Incarnation itself. Not only because the doctrine of the Incarnation has always insisted on maintaining the middle road of seeming contradictions, has it been so appealing to Anglican thought; but also because the Church has an unwavering sense and intuition for that which is fundamental, and a quiet but determined doggedness in sticking to it, which attracted it to this doctrine above all else. For it is the corner-stone upon which the Christian religion is built and the anvil upon which it is shaped.

The Church has also kept to the middle road in philosophy, neither accepting things as they are, nor living in a world of ideals, pretending that things are now as they ought to be. It is thoroughly Platonic in its philosophical outlook and has always covertly included

Plato among its sainted doctors, looking on things in this world as imperfect images of perfect patterns in heaven. Certainly Plato is the greatest literary figure in philosophical thinking, and the Church's sense of the best has led it to adopt him as its philosopher *par excellence*. With a similar feeling it has adopted the Stoic ethics of restraint in conduct as its own, without carrying them to the extremes of asceticism. It is the restraint of good taste, not the cramping and stultifying restriction of repression. Although the Church looks theologically to Plato and ethically to the Stoics, yet Aristotle with his Golden Mean is the philosopher who has given Anglicanism its characteristic genius.

So also as regards morals and ethics, the Church has never seen fit to legislate in detail on such questions, nor to condemn or prohibit social customs and activities because they are abused by certain people. It has never come out against drinking, smoking, card-playing, dancing, or theatre-going as such, although it is opposed to drunkenness, gluttony, gambling, lasciviousness, and lewdness; for it does not believe that participation in the former necessarily leads to the latter. Man becomes good, and therefore refrains from evil, not by legislation, but by grace. The Church believes that gaiety, in its proper place, is of God. In all these things the Church stands for temperance, believing that too great love of them or attention to them leads to worldliness and its attendant sins; and, except where there is personal distaste for them, abstention from them altogether leads to narrowness and pride.

Thus, being in the middle of the road, Anglicanism has had a sense of proportion which has kept it from going to ex-

tremes or from making a fool of itself. For a Church which has always attracted the socially conservative, it has been notable in its contributions to social reform—Wilberforce, Gladstone, Maurice, Scott-Holland, Gore, and now Temple (to name only those of the past hundred years—and only English leaders), have been in the forefront of social amelioration. The Church has thus stood for evolution, rather than revolution, and hence has not found itself in conflict with the progressive knowledge and virtues of its day, but ever the enemy of its ancient and modern evils. It has believed in carrying the good of the past into the present, and the present, into the future. It believes not only in the continuity of the Church, but also in the continuity of life. It is like a stream, flowing from its source in Christ, enlarging itself along the way, yet still carrying the original to its final consummation in the ocean of God's eternity.

It believes that all truth is of God, and that the Church should be the exponent and not the opponent of the true facts of God's working in the realms both of nature and human nature. Hence, although the controversies which have loomed large in denominations without Anglicanism have had their partisans within it, they have never affected it to the extent, nor loomed as prominent within it, as they have elsewhere. Political controversies, such as the American Civil War; scientific controversies, such as evolution; and Biblical controversies, such as the authorship of the Pentateuch or of the Fourth Gospel, have come and gone without the Church's committing itself upon them, and with its living to see most of them solve themselves, while it goes about its

principal task of the worship of God and the gathering of all men into that fellowship of worship—the body of those who sacrifice themselves in service to God and their fellowmen. Anglicanism since the seventeenth century has been fortunate that, except for the major Methodist schism and the minor Reformed Episcopal schism, it has been able to differ within itself without dividing.

For that reason to-day it is able to witness and give forcible expression to the truths represented in Liberalism, Evangelicalism, and Anglo-Catholicism, without itself breaking up into those groups. Differing in various points of view, but living together as brethren and witnessing to the fundamentals of the faith, contributing to and supporting the common cause of missions and social-service work, it goes on its way. The clergy belong to clerical groups which are broader than, and cut across, their so-called party affiliations; and the whole Church works and prays together throughout the world. The Anglican Church itself is a living example of church unity, without uniformity.

The Golden Mean of Anglicanism has always kept it from aligning itself fundamentally and exclusively with what is popularly known as either Protestantism or Catholicism. It has rather claimed, with justification, to embody the virtues of both and to refuse to be confined within the narrow limits of either. In rejecting the errors of the two extremes, it has contracted relatively few new errors of its own. That it has sinful attitudes and actions is another thing; and no Church composed of human beings is free from sin. That at various times during its history it has neglected or overlooked certain true

features of both Catholic and Protestant practice and belief, goes without saying; but it has never fundamentally repudiated the faith or practice of that which is best and true in either, and in the course of time has remedied its neglect. This has given a breadth and ecumenicity to Anglicanism which have caused many to turn longing eyes to it as the true Church of the future—the bridge between Protestantism and Catholicism and Orthodoxy. Already this has born fruit in closer relations between the Orthodox and Protestant Churches.

Similarly, it is not surprising to find the Anglican Church in the forefront of the ecumenical movement, both in its modern conception during the twentieth century, and also in its present world leadership by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Its Prayer Book and its ritual are being widely copied to-day in denominations which formerly applied the epithet "popery" to them. Even the Church of Rome, through its Liturgical Movement sponsored by the Benedictines, has adopted for its own many of the principles and practices of worship for which Anglicanism has stood.

Because in a sense the Anglican Communion feels the rightness and the security of its own position, it can afford to be patient. It can remain calm amidst the seeming triumph of inferior forms of religion, because of its assurance that in the end God will vindicate His own. With this is coupled the danger of pride; but somehow the Church has been as conscious of its defects as outsiders, and has taken its own measures to remedy

them. The Church, at least now, is its own severest critic.

The greatest danger of the middle-of-the-road position is a lack of enthusiasm, being neither hot nor cold, but merely respectable. The Church is as aware of this pitfall as is anyone outside, and is continually fighting against it. There are times when it has yielded to this temptation—arid periods of which it is ashamed. But every position has its own particular danger, and every virtue its opposite vice. And if the position and the virtue themselves are right, the only thing to do is to watch closer and work harder that one be not overcome by temptation. The genius of Anglicanism is that, taking the middle position, it is better able to bring men into touch with reality—with God as He is and with men and things as they are; to surround them with the influence of the Holy Spirit; to nourish them through the years in the Gospel of Christ, and to bring them up in the fear and admonition of the Lord; thus enabling them to worship Him in spirit and in truth, and to live together as brethren in the common love of God and of one another.

SUGGESTED TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

I. Is the middle-of-the-road position after all the best one? What are its advantages? What are its disadvantages? Do the former outweigh the latter?

II. Is Anglican theology right in its predominant interest in the doctrine of the Incarnation?

III. Is the temperate Anglican outlook on social and moral questions the truest and most helpful?

THE SO-CALLED "VICARIATE" OF ILLYRICUM

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The fateful excommunication of Michael Caerularius, Patriarch of Constantinople, which the papal legates laid on the high altar of Sancta Sophia on July 16, 1054, caused the final schism between the Latin and the Greek churches. But the ultimate sources of this great event lay long before. The first shadow on the relations between the Sees of Rome and of Constantinople was cast in 381 by c. 3 of the Council of Constantinople. Granting the Bishop of Constantinople the privilege of rank immediately after the Bishop of Rome, c. 3 implied an ominous challenge to the Roman See. For there could be no doubt that the political center of gravity was already shifting from Old-Rome to New-Rome.

I. Indeed, within seventy years New-Rome's honorary precedence of the other Eastern dioceses became a very practical power of jurisdiction when, in 451, c. 28 of the Council of Chalcedon extended the authority of the Bishop of Constantinople beyond the boundaries of Thrace. It ordered that only "the most holy throne of the most holy Church of Constantinople" had the right of consecrating the metropolitans of the dioceses of Pontus, Asia, and Thrace, and of the ordinary bishops of all countries adjoining those dioceses and inhabited by barbarians. By that "the independent authority of three exarchs . . . was annulled to make the archbishop of Constantinople a Patriarch."¹

More than that, the creation of this patriarchate was not in line with the principle of brotherhood of all bishops as based on the doctrine of apostolic succession, and as implicitly recognized by the first sentence of c. 4 of the Council of Nicaea: "It is by all means proper that a bishop should be appointed by all the bishops of the eparchy (province)." That means that already in 325 the Provincial Synod was recognized as the established authority for each eparchy, while its metropolitan was only its executive administrator. The division of the Church into eparchies was only "to facilitate the conduct of business."² It did not contradict the democratic feature of the organization of early Christianity. Rather, it was a natural self-grouping of Christian communities belonging together, as already S. Paul had written "to the body of Corinthian Christians and to all Christians in the Province" (2 Cor. 1, 1), and to the Churches of Galatia (Gal. 1, 2), and had praised the Thessalonians as examples of all the faithful in Macedonia and Achaia. Here, in I Thess. 1, 7, and likewise in 1, 8, S. Paul takes as one unit two Roman provinces, viz. Illyricum, the provincial administration of which is testified by Caesar³ already for the year 59 B.C., and which, in 49 B.C., received in C. Antonius her first governor,⁴ and Greece.

² Hefele, I², 381.

³ *Bell. Gall.*, V, 1; *Bell. civ.*, III, 9.

⁴ Appian, *Bell. civ.*, II, 6, 41.

¹ Bright, *Canons*², 222.

Such greater units of the empire received earliest canonical recognition as to their ecclesiastical jurisdiction by c. 6 of Nicaea: The Bishops of Alexandria, Rome, and Antioch have, according to ancient customs, jurisdiction over several provinces. Illyricum, on the other hand, was probably first recognized in 369 as a greater ecclesiastical unit, comprehending the Roman provinces from Achaia straight north to the Danube. In that year the Synod of Rome under Damasus anathematized Auxentius of Milan. When informing hereof the episcopate in the Orient, the synod asked especially the Illyrian bishops to pronounce by letter their agreement with the decision.⁵ A few years later, in 375, it was Valentinian II who recognized the particularity of the Illyrian Church by ordering an Illyrian council.⁶ That the Illyrian episcopate used this occasion for regulating the appointments of bishops, presbyters, and deacons,⁷ testifies its autonomy.

Since 381 these greater units were called "dioceses." C. 2 of the Council of Constantinople prohibited bishops from going beyond their own dioceses for ordination or any other ecclesiastical administration, unless they were invited to do so. This implies the exclusive competence of the dioceses in arranging and controlling the ecclesiastical affairs within their boundaries.

Among those dioceses, c. 2 mentioned especially Egypt with her diocesan-bishop in Alexandria, the East with its metropolitan in Antioch, Asia with Ephesus, Pontus with her metropolis Caesarea in Cappadocia, and Thrace

whose new metropolitan was from now on the bishop of Constantinople. We have already seen that c. 28 of Chalcedon extended, in 451, his metropolitan jurisdiction over Asia and Pontus.

The papal legates protested at once, as is well known, against canon 28, and Pope Leo I never recognized it; to be sure, not to defend the independence of the exarchates involved, but to oppose a new increase of the power of the bishop of Constantinople. For, exactly thirty years before Chalcedon and forty years after the Council of Constantinople, in 421, Theodosius II had issued an edict that gave the bishop of Constantinople a certain superintendence over the whole diocese of Illyricum, to the great chagrin, as we shall observe, of the Roman See.

Indeed, already the first words of this law (cf. Cod. Theod. XVI, 2, 45) must have caused ill feeling between Rome and Constantinople: "We prescribe that any kind of innovation is to cease, and that ancient tradition and the old ecclesiastical canons that have been valid hitherto are to be observed throughout all provinces of Illyricum. Accordingly, if anything doubtful should emerge, it necessarily is to be reserved to the holy decision of the episcopal convention, to be pronounced not without knowledge of the most venerable man of the sacred law, the Antistes of the city of Constantinople, which enjoys the prerogative of Old Rome."

There can be no doubt that the opening words "omni innovatione cessante" hint that Illyrian bishops have newly turned "ambitu vel incuria"⁸ to Rome for advice, if not, on account of c. 3 of

⁵ Coustant, *Epistolae Romanorum Pontificum*, 481 sqq.

⁶ Theodoret, IV, 7.

⁷ Theodoret, IV, 8.

⁸ Cf. Gothofredus, *Comm. to Cod. Theodos.*, Tom. VI, p. 100.

Sardica, for decision.⁹ To rule out such a new custom Theodosius reminds them of the immemorial tradition ("vetustatem") and the old canons ("et canones pristinos ecclesiasticos"), and admonishes them to cling to them ("per omnes Illyrici provincias servari praecepimus").

To contrast innovations with old tradition was in itself traditional both in law and in theology. In 217, Hippolytus wrote his "Apostolic Tradition" deliberately against innovations as promoted by Pope Calixtus I. In 286, the Emperors Diocletian and Maximian promulgated a law "ne quid contra veterem formam atque sollemnem morem innovetur" (Cod. Just., III, 34, 7). And when Basil, in 373, wrote to Didorus: "First of all I have to urge, what is most important in such matters, our own custom, which has the force of law, because the rules have been handed down to us by holy men" (ep. 160), he only repeated what already Paulus, member of the Imperial Council under Septimius Severus (193-211) and Caracalla (211-217), and *praefectus praetorio* under Alexander Severus (222-235) had expressed by saying: "loci vetustas quae semper pro lege habetur" (Dig. XXXIX, 3, 2, pr.). And again, Basil in his letter to Eulogius, Alexander, and Harpocraton, Egyptian bishops in exile, reproaches them for having "recognized those who endeavored to introduce innovations in opposition to the apostolic doctrines" (ep. 265).

According to Theodosius' law it was

⁹ Cf. Friedrich, *Über die Sammlung der Kirche in Thessalonich und das päpstliche Vikariat für Illyricum*, Sitzungsberichte der philos.-philol. u. histor. Classe der Akademie der Wiss. zu München, 1891, 771 ff. (787 ff.).

ancient tradition in Illyricum that the decision on ecclesiastical affairs was to be reserved to the episcopal convention ("conventui sacerdotali sanctoque iudicio reservari"), i.e., as Gothofredus put it, "ad Synodum totius dioeceseos, seu Episcoporum omnium totius dioeceseos, Thessalonicensi Episcopo et Synodo."¹⁰ It is this part of the edict that gives it, in my opinion, the significance of an extremely valuable testimony of the fundamentally democratic structure of the Church as being still alive in the fifth century. It especially testifies to the provincial and diocesan administration of Illyricum as an independent ecclesiastical body. It furthermore shows the hastiness of the conclusion that Illyricum had been under the Roman patriarchate as there was only one patriarchate in the West,¹¹ and the dubiousness of the general concept as expressed by Duchesne: "Les patriarchats de Rome et de Constantinople étaient considérés comme limitrophes: là où finissait l'un, l'autre commençait."¹² Quite revealing seems to me the first sentence of Duchesne's article: "Suivant la conception byzantine de l'organisation ecclésiastique, il avait cinq patriarchats, ceux de Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioche, Jérusalem, plus une province autocéphale, celle de Chypre."¹³ In my opinion, not "la conception byzantine," but the original structure of church organization leads to an understanding of the ecclesiastical state of Illyricum and consequently of the edict of 421.

¹⁰ Gothofredus, l.c., VI, 100.

¹¹ Cf. Hefele, I, 395, 399; Lins in *Catholic Encycl.*, VII, 663, s.v. Illyria.

¹² Duchesne, *L'Illyricum ecclésiastique*, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 1892, 531.

¹³ Duchesne, l.c.

On the other hand, the edict seems to introduce an innovation in so far as Theodosius ordered the diocesan synod to arrive at its conclusions "non absque scientia viri reverentissimi sacrosanctae legis, antistitis urbis Constantinopolitanae." It is undoubtedly this part of the edict that generally led to the assumption that Illyricum, in 421, was assigned to the jurisdiction of the See of Constantinople.¹⁴ Duchesne even asserts that Theodosius' edict "rattache les provinces d'Illyricum à la juridiction de l'évêque de Constantinople."¹⁵

However, if we observe the striking parallelism of the wording of Theodosius' law with that of c. 6 of Nicaea, we might come to a different conclusion: As Theodosius ordered the preservation of the ancient custom, so c. 6 starts with the demand "*tà archaia êthe krâteito*." And as this canon requires that no one be made bishop "*choris gnômes tou metropolitou*," so the edict demands that the episcopal convention should decide "non absque scientia . . . antistitis." As "*choris gnômes*" will exclude any consecration performed without the metropolitan's consent, likewise the words "non absque scientia" will prevent that anything of importance be concluded before the metropolitan of Constantinople had had the opportunity of preventing it.¹⁶

¹⁴ Cf. Kidd, *History of the Church*, III, 282 n. 11; Friedrich, l.c. 787: "die oberste Jurisdiction des Bischofs von CP wurde auf das anstoßende Illyricum ausgedehnt."; but on p. 789 he asserts precisely the opposite.

¹⁵ Duchesne, l.c., 535; in his *Early History of the Church*, III, 125. Duchesne even states that in 381 the bishops of Eastern Illyricum "attached themselves to the episcopal body of the West" (!).

¹⁶ Cf. also Innocent I's letter (18) to Alexander of Antioch: "The Council of Nicaea has

For, this was the traditional meaning of "scientia" in the Roman legal language.¹⁷ Consequently, the Bishop of Constantinople henceforth should have a formally secured influence on the synodical jurisdiction within Illyricum, but not more. He was to prohibit an illegal decision; but the decision made then by the synod was not his. Thus, Gothofredus was right when pointing out that the metropolitan's opinion was, according to Theodosius' law, to be procured if any doubt as to the tradition or the validity or the interpretation of ecclesiastical canons should arise.

To sum it up: By the above edict Theodosius II did not attribute the contentious jurisdiction throughout Illyricum to the Bishop of CP; he only wanted him to be consulted.¹⁸ Nevertheless, the edict did collide with the popes' suspicion against the See of CP, stirred up by the first challenge in 381 and nourished by Chrysostom's ambitious attempts to extend his jurisdiction beyond Thrace over the dioceses of Pontus and Asia, legalized later in 451 by c. 28 of Chalcedon. Hence, Theodosius' edict was followed by a series of letters, imperial as well as papal, directed, more or less obviously, against it, all excellent

not established the Church of Antioch over a province, but over a diocese. As, then, in virtue of his exclusive authority, the bishop of Antioch ordains metropolitans, it is not allowed that other bishops should hold ordinations without his knowledge and consent."

¹⁷ Cf. the circumscription of "scientia" in Dig. 9, 4, 3, 4 pr.; 9, 2, 44, 1; 45 pr.; 14, 4, 1, 3; 22, 6, 6, 9: "ubique scientia exigitur domini sic accipienda est, si, cum prohibere posset, non prohibuit." For further information on this formula as a "Regula juris," cf. my article "Zur Frage der Unterlassung" in *Festschrift für Eduard Heilfron*, Berlin, 1930, 63 ff.

¹⁸ Cf. Gothofredus, l.c., VI, 103.

illustrations of the tension between Old Rome and New Rome, promoted by the fact that in Old Rome the emperor was under the influence of his bishop, while in New Rome the bishop was under the influence of his emperor.

II. However, before entering upon this phase of the struggle concerning Illyricum, it is necessary to remember both the political events and the papal claims finally causing the promulgation of the disputed edict in 421.

When, on January 19, 379, Theodosius I was nominated Augustus by Gratian and was intrusted with the high command in the Gothic war, not only the government of the *praefectura Oriens*, but also that of the *praefectura per Illyricum* was, as Sozomen (VII, 4) reports, handed over to him. Incidentally, Sozomen is not exact in so far as the Western part of Illyricum, viz. Pannonia, remained with the Western division of the empire, while only the two Eastern dioceses, viz. Dacia and Macedonia, were united with East Rome. They were, to be sure, by far the greater part of Illyricum. Their importance for the Eastern division of the empire was stressed by the fact that Theodosius made Thessalonica his residence.

However, when Theodosius, in 380, had succeeded with Gratian's support in defeating the Visigoths and in repulsing them beyond the Danube river, the emperors agreed, late in Summer 380, that Dacia and Macedonia were to be reunited again with Western Illyricum. In November 380 Theodosius moved his residence from Thessalonica to Constantinople, whereupon, in 381, the Bishop of the new residence was elevated by c. 3 of the Council of Constantinople, as we have seen at the outset, to rank immediately after the Bishop of Rome.

After Theodosius' death, on January 17, 395, the empire was divided anew between his sons Arcadius and Honorius. Arcadius, the older one and nominated Augustus ten years before Honorius, found himself sovereign of scarcely more than one third of the empire. Rufinus, his *praefectus praetorio per Orientem*, urged the cession of Eastern Illyricum. His demand met first with the stubborn resistance of Stilicho, the warden of Honorius, not yet of age, and magister militum of the Western army. An armed conflict between him and Alarich, Rufinus' instrument, seemed unavoidable. Eventually, however, Stilicho obeyed Arcadius' demand to yield East Illyricum to the Eastern empire.¹⁹ The territory in question is sharply marked by Kidd: It "extended from Belgrad and Sophia to Cape Matapan and Crete."²⁰ Thus, from Summer 395 the Western borders of Dacia and Macedonia were again the line of demarcation between East and West Illyricum, i.e., on a larger scale, between the Eastern and the Western part of the empire.

The temporary reversion of Eastern Illyricum to the Western part of the empire from 380 to 395 is overlooked by almost all historians. And yet only this interlude explains the fact that Gratian did issue, on July 5, 381, two edicts at Viminacium in Moesia (Cod. Theod., I, 10, 1; XII, 1, 89).²¹ It, furthermore, explains that Pope Damasus (366-84) is said to have "hit upon the device of making Acholius, bishop of Thessalonica

¹⁹ Cf. Duchesne, *History*, III, 50, and the explicit description of these events by Stein, *Rhein. Museum*, 74 (1925), 347 ff.

²⁰ Kidd, III, 4.

²¹ This against Duchesne, *History*, II, 376 n. 1.

380-83, papal Vicar,"²² without hurting his and Acholius' excellent relations to Theodosius.²³

III. Howbeit, the unification of Eastern Illyricum with East Rome gave rise to the widespread, if not general, opinion that Damasus made Illyricum his vicariate, and that his successors followed him herein, as "the popes never allowed it to leave their orbit."²⁴

However, the assertions concerning the "Vicariate" of Illyricum are as confused and contradictory as the papal letters, the only source in question, are scarce and obscure: Kidd quotes only one letter of Innocent I for his statements that Damasus (366-84) made Acholius (380-83) his vicar, that Siricius (384-98) continued Damasus' policy "by renewing, 385, to Anysius, bishop of Thessalonica 383-410, the powers of papal Vicar there," and that Innocent I (402-17) renewed the vicariate to Anysius and afterward to Rufus (410-31).²⁵ Moeller-von Schubert and Duchesne consider, on the other hand, only Siricius as creator of the vicariate. For that Duchesne refers to letters by which Anysius received from Siricius "a definite delegation."²⁶ "These letters" (?) were renewed to him by Anastasius

(399-401) and Innocent. Moeller-von Schubert finally states that the term "vicariate" was used first by Zosimus (417-18), although already Innocent had made the bishop of Thessalonica his formal representative in the Illyrian provinces.²⁷

The uncertainty of the situation is eloquently lightened by the change of terms as used by so conscientious a writer as William Bright: After first having said that Damasus appointed Acholius "his deputy" (*Age of the Fathers*, I, 407), he lets him then be "intrusted by Damasus with what may be called a Vicarial authority" (I, 454); Anysius in Innocent's time "had long acted as the vicar of the See of Rome in Eastern Illyricum" (II, 96); Rufus, finally, held under Boniface I (418-22) "a sort of delegation from Rome in Eastern Illyricum" (II, 222).

It seems to us that this uncertainty is the natural outcome of the attempt to construct on the ground of a few papal letters a hypothetical legal status which they actually did not authenticate at all. The only conclusion possible from these letters is that the popes *claimed* Illyricum as a part of the Western patriarchate, just to counterbalance its unification with the Eastern part of the empire. But we are to distinguish between such claims and the constitutional rights as established through the canons. As to Illyricum these canons and the underlying tradition were recognized anew by Theodosius' edict of 421. Thus, the edict had to be discredited.

IV. As a matter of fact, most of those scholars who mention the edict at all state that it had already been revoked by Theodosius in 422. Indeed, the "Col-

²² Kidd, II, 328 n. 5.

²³ Cf. my article on "The Nicene Faith and the Legislation of the Early Byzantine Emperors" in the *Anglican Theol. Review*, July 1943, pp. 311, 320.

²⁴ Kidd, III, 4. Cf. Lins, *Cathol. Encycl.*, VII, 660. Differing as to Damasus and Siricius, Langen, *Geschichte der römischen Kirche*, I, 667 f., Wisbaum, *Die wichtigsten Richtungen und Ziele der Tätigkeit des Papstes Gregors des Grossen*, 28, and Friedrich, i.e., 771 ff. and 783.

²⁵ Kidd, II, 328 n. 5 and III, 4.

²⁶ Moeller-von Schubert, *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, I², 723; Duchesne, i.e., III, 126 and BZ I, 543 f.

²⁷ Moeller-von Schubert, i.e., 724.

lection of the Church of Thessalonica"²⁸ contains a correspondence between Honorius and Theodosius in which Honorius, following a reclamation of pope Boniface I, urged Theodosius to observe and maintain the ancient state of Illyricum ("maiestas tua antiquum ordinem praecipiat custodire"), whereupon Theodosius notified Honorius that he would do justice to the papal request by issuing the necessary counter-order.

However, even if Theodosius was at that time honestly willing to enact a new edict, there is not a single trace known of it, while the above letters as such never could invalidate an edict formally promulgated. Mommsen, the greatest authority on Roman public law, pointed out that only an edict promulgated again by the two co-emperors, not, however, a private letter written by one of them and addressed to the other, would have corresponded to the legal prerequisite of nullifying that edict. The letters in question might be considered as pre-negotiations, but they have by no means any legal significance.²⁹

Mommsen, although being the editor of the *Codex Theodosianus*, apparently did not become aware that the *Codex* itself offers a proof for the correctness of his statements: The third title "De Monachis" of the XVIth book contains only two laws. By the first one (XVI, 3, 1) Valentinian, Theodosius, and Arcadius, on Sept. 2, 390, ordered the monks to emigrate to desert places and solitudes and to stay there. By the second law, promulgated on April 17, 392, they revoked the first one and allowed the monks to reenter their home

towns. Both laws were addressed to the same *praefectus praetorio*. He who had enforced the first law was the only official competent to institute the necessary counter-measures. Thus in every respect the two laws are a classical example of the requirements for the repeal of legislative acts.

Under these circumstances there is no real need for entering into the question whether the above letters were falsifications or not. To be sure, their genuineness was denied by Friedrich and Mommsen. Mommsen based his doubts upon the formal inadequateness of the letters to serve the purpose for which they were ostensibly written. Friedrich directs the reader's attention to an anachronism that affects their authenticity most strongly, indeed: The edict of 421 is addressed to the *praefectus praetorio Illyrici*, the highest official over all Illyricum from Diocletian's reorganization of the empire up to the year 535, (when Justinian established a second prefecture for Western Illyricum, after having changed the name of his birth-town Locrida into "Justiniana Prima" and having elevated it to metropolitan rank). In contrast to these facts Theodosius' letter of 422 already speaks of two prefects in Illyricum: "Super quare . . . ad viros illustros praefectos praetorio Illyrici nostri scripta porreximus."

If we take into consideration that Western Illyricum was ceded by Valentinian III to East Rome only in 437 when he married Eudoxia, Theodosius' daughter, so that then at the earliest Theodosius could have had two prefects in Illyricum, it seems obvious that Theodosius could not possibly have entangled himself to such a degree in inconsistencies as to the state of administration of

²⁸ Maassen, *Geschichte der Quellen und Literatur des canonischen Rechts*, I, 766 ff.

²⁹ Mommsen, *Neues Archiv für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, 1893, 358 and 1894, 434 f.

his own empire. Rather, the mentioning of the two prefects indicates that the letters were fabricated some time after 535, i.e. after Justinian had established the second prefecture in Justiniana Prima. This presumption gets considerable support from the fact that the edict of July 14, 421 was reissued not only in the Codex Theodosianus (XVI, 2, 45), promulgated in 438, but also in the Codex Justinianus (I, 2, 6), in force since December 29, 534. Hence, not only Theodosius, but also Justinian in 534 still maintained the validity of the edict. Both emperors either ignored the correspondence as irrelevant, supposing the letters were genuine, or, what is more probable, they did not know anything about it, as the letters did not yet exist.

V. However, there are still three other letters, known also through the "Collection of the Church of Thessalonica," ostensibly written also in 422 in order to prove the withdrawal of the edict of 421: these are the letters 13, 14, 15 of Pope Boniface I.

Holstenius and Coustant, the first editors of these letters, interpreted them as written against the edict. But, as Friedrich (l. c., 860) emphasized, the edict as such is not mentioned, and linguistic parallelisms alone are not convincing. Indeed, terms as "vetustas," "novitas rerum," etc., were, as we have seen, traditional in both legal and canonical language.

Furthermore, if these letters, discussing the election of Perigenes,³⁰ were really directed against the imperial edict, Boniface's remonstrations against "innovations" and the "claims of an unjustified dignity" would, in my opin-

ion, only prove that he *protested* against Theodosius' regulations, but could not have overruled them.

However, there are strong indications against the authenticity of these letters, too, explicitly pointed out by Friedrich. It seems to me sufficient to report here only on the most important ones and in a very condensed way:

Boniface's letter 12 (Coustant, 1032), dated the same day as the epp. 13, 14, and 15, urges most strongly that the Nicene principles are to be observed. The epp. 13, 14, and 15, on the other hand, know one principle only: the unconditional submission under, and the absolute supremacy of, the Roman See. The phrase "de nostro non esse iudicio retractandum" is repeated here time and again, certainly *not* in line with the Nicene principles.

Further statements are meant to prove Rome's primacy as ordered already by our Lord Himself and as only confirmed by c. 6 of Nicaea. They allude to the Roman version of this canon, beginning with the words: "Sciendum sane est ab omnibus catholicis, quoniam sancta ecclesia Romana nullis synodi decretis praelata est, sed evangelica voce Domini nostri Jesu Christi primatum obtinuit. . . ." This version of c. 6, however, is known at the earliest since the end of the fifth century,³¹ and Langen has already criticized it as "die erste grosse Fälschung."³²

Ep. 15, finally, contains statements concerning Athanasius and Peter of Alexandria, and Meletius and Flavian of Antioch, which are known to be historical blunders.³³ More than that, it speaks of a legation sent by Theodosius

³¹ Cf. Maassen, l.c., 50 f.

³² Cf. Langen, l.c., I, 791.

³³ Cf. Langen, l.c., I, 790.

³⁰ Cf. about this election *Dict. of Christ. Biogr.*, I, 328, s.v. Boniface.

I to the Pope to get Nectarius' nomination as bishop of Constantinople confirmed, a narration, showing, in contrast to all known facts, too obviously the character of wishful thinking.

Duchesne, in his attempt of defending the reliability of the "Collection of the Church of Thessalonica," tried to discredit Friedrich's arguments to be not convincing and "aussi incomplète." He does not serve his own purpose when starting his refutation with the program: "Je me bornerai à quelques observations."³⁴ Especially because among those documents the authenticity of which he tries to prove are not the letters of Boniface I.

VI. Theodosius II's edict of 421, therefore, seems not affected by any of the letters ostensibly written against it. On the other hand, our interpretation of it as both confirming the independence of Illyricum and attributing to the bishop of CP only the superintendence over the Illyrian clergy, receives considerable support by decisions and enactments, canonical as well as civil, issued from the beginning of the critical period, viz. the Council of CP in 381, up to the year 545. Then Justinian put Western Illyricum with her metropolitan of Justiniana Prima under the authority of the Roman See. We shall group these issues according to the authorities in question, namely the Illyrian episcopate, Eastern prelates, the popes, and the emperor Justinian.

(1) When Theodosius the Great exhorted in Rome the Western bishops to put an end to the quarrel concerning Flavian of Antioch, he stressed, according to Theodoret (V, 23) his point by saying: "Not only the East, but all Asia,

Pontus, and Thrace were united in communion with him, and all Illyricum recognized his authority over the oriental bishops." Theodosius here sets Illyricum on a par with the great Eastern exarchates. This was probably in Fall 394. Theodoret, to be sure, does not give any date. However, I infer the year 394 from the following facts: Theodosius visited Rome twice, from June 13 to August 30, 389, and after the battle at the Frigidus, on September 6, 394. When the Roman bishops, on account of Theodosius' exhortations, had promised to receive Flavian's envoys, Flavian gave the chief authority of his delegation to Acacius, Bishop of Beroea.³⁵ Acacius, however, had been excommunicated by Damasus and readmitted to union not earlier than in 391 or 392.³⁶ Flavian, certainly, would not have entrusted him with that mission to Rome as long as he was excommunicated by the Roman See.

Furthermore, the attitude of the Illyrian clergy after Chrysostom's second banishment in 404 proves again their independence, this time of the See of Constantinople. The wrong inflicted on Chrysostom "was regarded with special detestation by the bishops of Europe, who separated themselves from communion with the guilty parties. In this action they were joined by all the bishops of Illyria."³⁷

After the Council of Chalcedon the Illyrian bishops refused to sign c. 28, in spite of the urgent demands of Anatolius, bishop of Constantinople.³⁸ This

³⁵ Theodoret, I.c.

³⁶ Cf. Cathol. Encycl., I, 80.

³⁷ Theodoret, V, 34.

³⁸ Testified by Leo I's letter to Julianus, bishop of Cos, of 453 (ep. 117, Migne 54, 1039).

³⁴ Duchesne, BZ, I, 539.

proves again both that the edict of 421 had not subordinated them under the See of CP, and that the metropolitan of Thessalonica did not hold his See as a Roman vicar; for, in this case, the Illyrian bishops never could have been considered as supporting c. 28.

Finally, Duchesne himself concedes (BZ, I, 545) that the clergy of Thessalonica resisted any attempt, both of their bishops Andreas and Dorotheus, and of Pope Hormisdas (514-23), of bringing Illyricum under Rome "again." This "again," to be sure, is in line with Duchesne's concept that the first vicariate of Illyricum had existed for about one hundred years until it was suspended by the schism of 484.

(2) Indications of the independence of Illyricum as shown by the attitude of Eastern metropolitans.

Acholius, bishop of Thessalonica until 383, was present at the Council of CP in 381 and agreed in cc. 2 and 3. As c. 2 excluded, at least for the oriental church, the necessity of appeal to Rome, while c. 3 elevated the Bishop of CP in rank over all Eastern patriarchs, he could not possibly have acted as vicar of Rome.

Atticus, bishop of CP from 406 to 426, notified the metropolitans of Asia, Thessalonica, and Carthage of his having expelled Coelestius from Constantinople.³⁹ From that we may infer that he ranked Illyricum among the patriarchates and exarchates.⁴⁰

The same evidently holds true for Firmus, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, when he, at the second session of the Council of Ephesus in 431, reminded the assembly of the letters sent by Pope Coelestine (422-32) "ad religiosissimos

episcopos Cyrillum Alexandrinum, Juvenalem Jerosolymitanum et Rufum Thessalonicensem, nec non ad sanctas Constantinopolis et Antiochiae ecclesias."⁴¹

Another proof of the patriarchal rank of Thessalonica may be seen in that Eutyches, archimandrite of a monastery near Constantinople, when condemned in 448 by the Synod of Constantinople under the presidency of its bishop Flavian (successor to Proclus since 447), appealed to Rome, Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Thessalonica.⁴²

(3) Furthermore, we find both the rank and jurisdiction of the Church of Illyricum attested by several letters of the popes themselves:

Zosimus (417-18) wrote in his "Tractatoria": "et orientales ecclesias Aegypti dioecesim et Constantinopolim et Thessalonicam et Hierosolyma similia eademque scripta ad episcopos transmissa esse suggerimus."⁴³ Coelestine's (422-32) letter, preceding the Council of Ephesus (431), is addressed "Johanni, Juvenali, Rufo et Flaviano episcopis per Orientem a pari."⁴⁴ And, later, he refers to his letter by writing: "Eadem autem scripsimus et ad sanctos fratres et coepiscopos nostros Joannem (Antioch.), Rufum (Thessalonic.), Juvenalem (Hierosol.) et Flavianum (Philippens.) ut nota sit de ea nostra, immo Christi nostri divina sententia."⁴⁵ Leo I (440-61), in order to conserve the order as established by Chalcedon, wrote in Sept. 457 to the emperor and the bishops of the great churches, Anatolius

³⁹ Coustant, 1153.

⁴² Mansi, IV, 818.

⁴³ Mansi, IV, 293.

⁴⁴ Coustant, 1107.

⁴⁵ Coustant, 1107.

³⁹ Mansi, IV, 293.

⁴⁰ Cf. Friedrich, l.e., 786.

of CP, Euxitheus of Thessalonica, and the bishops of Antioch and Jerusalem.⁴⁶

As to the jurisdictional independence of the Illyrian episcopate, there is first the case of Bonosus, bishop of Sardica, who had denied the perpetual virginity of Mary. The Synod of Capua (391) entrusted Bonosus' neighbors, the bishops of Illyricum under the presidency of Anysius of Thessalonica, with the decision, obviously in accordance with the ancient principle of territorial jurisdiction. When the synod asked Siricius to decide on this case, he refused: Anysius and the Illyrian bishops were competent; he could only await their decision.⁴⁷

In 414, Innocent I took up this case again by his ep. 17: The Illyrian bishops had considered those, consecrated by Bonosus, as clergymen of the Church. This was, as Innocent said, against the "regulas veteres, quas ab apostolis vel apostolicis viris traditas ecclesia Romana custodit." Nevertheless, he is far from demanding the Illyrian episcopate to recognize the Roman supremacy. For the Illyrian bishops, though they usually do consider the Roman standpoint as directive, are not supposed to take orders from Rome. Thus he, too, treats them as a separate and independent body.

This conclusion is in line with other paragraphs of the same letter, related to some questions with which the Illyrian episcopate had repeatedly turned to the Apostolic See "quasi ad caput ecclesiarum." Again, Innocent distinguishes between "nostrae lex est ecclesiae" and the rule "apud vos."⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Cf. his epp. 146, 149, 150; Friedrich, l.c., 801 f.

⁴⁷ Coustant, 679.

⁴⁸ Milman, *Hist. of Latin Christianity*, I, 116, interprets this letter as expressing In-

Also in ep. 18 Innocent respected the will of the Illyrian bishops to watch their independence: The bishops felt offended that Innocent had investigated anew the case of Bubalius and Taurianus, after they had pronounced their decision. Innocent justified his looking into the matter by saying "veritas exagitata saepius magis splendescit in luce." And "iustitiam saepius recenseri" only serves the "fructus divinus." To that Friedrich correctly remarks that Innocent did not claim any higher legal authority.⁴⁹

Finally, by ep. 22 Innocent recognized implicitly the Illyrian synod to be equal to the Roman: Atticus of Constantinople, suspended on account of his communication with Chrysostom, could have tried to be received again by demonstrating his case before Rome or the Illyrian synod. However, he had not written "neque apud vos, neque apud nos."

(4) To conclude our remarks, we may now see how Justinian's famous novellae XI and CXXXI fit into our conception of the autocephaly of Illyricum.

By novella XI of April 14, 535, treating "De Privilegiis Archiepiscopi Primae Justinianae," Justinian nominated Catellianus Archbishop of Justiniana Prima in order to magnify his native town. From now on, its bishop was exempt from all bonds to Thessalonica. Duchesne (BZ, I, 536) emphasized that "ce remaniement est opéré par l'em-

nocent's "haughty astonishment that his decisions are not admitted without examination," and as insinuating "that some wrong may be intruded to the dignity of the Apostolic See." Even so, the letter would confirm our viewpoint that there is a difference between papal claims and established rights.

⁴⁹ Cf. Friedrich, l.c., 798.

pereur seul, sans intervention ni du pape ni du patriarche de Constantinople. Et pourtant il était naturel, en égard à la législation des codes Théodosien et Justinien, que l'assentiment du patriarche fût ici visé, si réellement cette législation correspondait aux relations en vigueur." Exactly the contrary conclusion seems to me justified: That the assent neither of the pope nor of the patriarch of Constantinople seemed to be necessary in accordance with a legislation corresponding to the "relations en vigueur," demonstrated again that Illyricum was not subordinated either to Rome or to Constantinople.

By novella CXXXI of March 18, 545, "De Ecclesiasticis Titulis," Justinian confirmed in cap. III the jurisdictional power of the Archbishop of Justiniana Prima over the bishops of his provinces, stating that he held in these provinces

"locum . . . sedis apostolicae Romae secundum ea quae definita sunt a sanctissimo papa Vigilio." Duchesne (BZ, I, 537) infers from this the untenability of the idea that Illyricum was, according to Theodosius' edict, a part of the patriarchate of Constantinople: "Il est plus simple d'admettre que l'organisation que nous voyons fonctionner après Justinian avait de racines antérieures à lui et que la loi théodosienne . . . était en réalité contradictoire à la tradition." —It is much more simple, I believe, to avoid the assumption of such a strange contradiction if only we are prepared to concede that Illyricum never had been a part of the patriarchate of Constantinople and that Theodosius' edict was to remind the Illyrian episcopate of its traditional independence, which only the diocese of Justiniana Prima lost in 545 on account of Justinian's authoritative dictum.

"THE HYMNAL, 1940"

By HENRY WILDER FOOTE *

Belmont, Mass.

The Hymnal of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. Prepared by the Joint Commission. New York: Church Pension Fund, 1943, pp. viii + 828. Standard musical edition, \$1.20; special choir edition, \$1.50; large melody edition, \$0.70; small melody edition, \$0.40.

The appearance of the *Hymnal, 1940*, will be greeted with great interest not only by the clergy, choirs and congrega-

tions which will use it for the next quarter-century, but by many church musicians and hymn-lovers in other communions than that of the Episcopal Church. It is as one of these last that I have been asked to write my impressions of the book. A balanced judgment as to the merits or deficiencies of a hymnal can of course, be reached only after the book has been in use for some

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dent of the Hymn Society of America in 1941, and gave a course on hymnody in the Harvard Divinity School for a number of years. He is the author of *Three Centuries of American Hymnody* (1940).

time, but a quick survey may at least disclose some of the outstanding features and tendencies which the book embodies.

The first impression is that the *Hymnal* is an exceptionally dignified and well-printed book, the editorial standards of which, as regards both hymns and tunes, are far above those of its predecessors. That is gratifying because all the preceding *Hymnals*—of 1833, 1872, 1892 and 1916—have been undistinguished collections. All except the first have been timidly edited imitations of the successive editions of *Hymns Ancient and Modern*—which first appeared in 1861—generally lagging a half a generation behind their English model. The reputation for hymn-singing which the Episcopal Church acquired was due more to the introduction of boy choirs when they were a novelty in this country, and to the importation of the new tunes of the English "Cathedral School" which were so popular in the last quarter of the 19th century, than to any outstanding excellence of its *Hymnals* as collections of hymns.

The editors of the *Hymnal* of 1916 still clung to the old model, although *Hymns Ancient and Modern* which for forty years had been much the best of Anglican hymn-books, had stiffened into an old-fashioned stereotype and the new *English Hymnal* of 1906 had clearly given a new lead to Anglican hymnody by its fresh outlook and vigor. But the American editors were not awake to the significance of either the *English Hymnal* or of Robert Bridges' *Yattendon Hymnal*, both of which alarmed them by the very fact of their divergence from the stereotype.

The editors of the *Hymnal, 1940* have

retained the long familiar arrangement of their materials but they have happily availed themselves not only of the *Yattendon* and *English Hymnals*, but of *Songs of Praise*, edited by the late Canon Dearmer, which is by all odds the freshest, most original and best edited hymn book published in England in this century. And to these important British sources they have added substantial and valuable contributions from American composers and hymn-writers. The Episcopal Church, therefore, now has a hymnal which is no mere pallid imitation of a conventional model but is a book edited with vigorous independence of judgment based on broad knowledge of available resources, a book which will at once take its rightful place in the front rank of current American hymn-books.

One of the most obvious tendencies of the book is the increased emphasis on plain-song melodies—approximately 40 of them—set to translations of the Latin office hymns and sequences. That was to be expected in any book in which Canon Winfred Douglas had so large a hand, and the presentation of this heritage from the ancient church is to be welcomed. Some of it will undoubtedly be acclimated to American use, to our advantage, but much of it is difficult even for trained choirs and its unfamiliar musical idiom is quite alien to most congregations. A good deal of education will be required before they acquire a taste for it. After all, the Office Hymns, both words and music, were not intended for congregational use but were sung only by clerics in cathedrals, abbeys or monastery chapels. In the *Hymnal* the words have been set in almost every case to an alternative modern and often familiar hymn-tune, but the hymns themselves, closely and

well translated, remain an expression of an ancient or medieval mode of thought which often seems remote from our modern life. Their inclusion may be justified as illustrating both the continuity of Christian thought and the wealth of ancient church hymnody, but it must still be regarded as something of an experiment.

So far as the hymn-tunes of Protestantism are concerned, beginning with the fine psalm-tunes of the Genevan, English and Scottish psalters, and coming down through the German chorales, especially as arranged by Bach, to the 18th century English tunes and those of more recent times, it should be said that the book has a very wide and rich selection. Many of the older tunes may be unfamiliar to the average choir and congregation but they are grand melodies, majestic in strength or moving in tenderness. The editors have wisely followed the lead of *Songs of Praise* in including many English and American traditional folk melodies. Some of these are lovely additions to our church music; others are of doubtful value. Perhaps "Greensleeves" can be converted to religion, like a repentant Magdalen, but in origin and long continued use it had very different associations. Two Negro melodies are included—one of them the profoundly moving Good Friday spiritual "Were you there when they crucified my Lord?" It remains to be seen whether white congregations can sing them with anything like the effect with which Negro voices can render them.

The book is particularly rich in other American tunes, beginning with Oliver Holden's "Coronation" (1796) and including a good many fine tunes recently written, 48 of them for this book. With

hardly an exception they are virile, well-constructed tunes, sometimes rising to exceptional excellence. No previous hymn-book has anything like so ample a collection of American tunes, and in publishing them the editors have rendered a notable service for which editors of later books will be grateful. If, among them, they have included what seems like an unnecessarily large number of "gospel hymns," the reason is, no doubt, to be found in the very wide spread in outlook and in hymn use to be found within the Episcopal Church in different parts of this country, which calls for tunes covering the whole gamut from an other-worldly Medieval Catholicism to grass-roots Evangelical Protestantism.

A quite sufficient number of 19th century English tunes have been retained—in some cases as alternatives—but a good many of the weaker and more sentimental ones formerly in use have disappeared. In the Index of Composers in the 1916 *Hymnal*, J. B. Dykes still had 45 entries and Joseph Barnby had 27. In the present *Hymnal*, Dykes has 24 tunes (including two adaptations) and Barnby 9; Arthur Sullivan still has 11 (two of them adaptations), S. S. Wesley 8 (one adaptation), Richard Redhead 4, and John Stainer 3. That is a good deal larger representation than these composers have been able to retain in most recent British hymnals, from which they have almost entirely disappeared. That the editors of the *Hymnal* have dealt so gently with them is an indication of the characteristic time-lag in the American response to the British lead in church music. Undoubtedly the better tunes of these "Cathedral School" composers still have a wider popularity in this country than

in the land of their origin, where they have been perhaps too indiscriminately swept out with the rest of the old-fashioned Victorian litter.

Great care has been taken not to disturb familiar associations in mating hymns and tunes. Alternatives are given where a hymn has been commonly sung to more than one well-known tune. Where a better tune is offered to replace a familiar old one the preference of the editors is clearly indicated but the choice is left to the user of the book. The enlightened organist and choir-master will generally wish to follow the editorial indications, though it may sometimes require some courage to do so. The new tunes are generally set to new words. It is to be hoped that they will be thoroughly tested in use so that at least the best of them may speedily become a common possession.

Although the hymn-and-tune mating has been done with skill and sound judgment in the great majority of cases, there are a few instances in which the editors have created or perpetuated unworthy associations of hymn and tune. No doubt it was inevitable that "Faith of our fathers" should be set to "St. Catherine," but to insert that very inferior tune three times, and above all to set Wesley's deeply moving hymn "Thou hidden love of God," to its secular waltz rhythm, instead of to the great chorale "Gottlob, es geht," was a lamentable error of judgment. Only less regrettable is the perpetuation of the popular jaunty tune "Rathbun" to "In the cross of Christ I glory," instead of setting it to Martin Shaw's noble tune "Marching."

Another impression from the first examination of the *Hymnal* is that the editors have been a good deal more con-

servative in their selection of hymns than of tunes. The number of translations from the Latin has already been mentioned. The great traditional English hymns are, of course, here. It is reported that the editors dropped 200 hymns which were in the 1916 *Hymnal*, but of the 400 which they retained at least a few seem so outmoded in mood or manner as to have little present value. They are, however, far out-weighted by the many fine modern hymns of British origin, chiefly drawn from *Songs of Praise*,—notably those by Canon Dearmer, Robert Bridges, Jan Struther and Canon Briggs, who is beyond question the foremost living English hymn writer. But it was a pity to leave out Canon Briggs' admirable hymn for those at sea, which in literary quality as well as from the sailor's point of view, is far superior to the well-known "Eternal Father, strong to save." And the editors have omitted other hymns of recent British origin which would have strengthened the book.

Perhaps the weakest point in the *Hymnal* is its failure to include more of the American hymns of superior quality written in the last 80 years. If it be argued that the book, with 600 hymns besides much service music, is amply large, it may be replied that certain medieval hymns which can seldom be used could have given place to more modern ones. For example, "Victimae Paschali" and "Dies Irae" each take three pages. Each is a great hymn in Christian tradition—indeed "Dies Irae" is, in the sheer power of its effect, perhaps the grandest of all Christian hymns—but the present day usefulness of either is slight. Not one congregation in a thousand would choose the first in

preference to better known hymns for Eastertide and it is difficult to imagine an occasion in which the second, taken from the Requiem Mass of the Roman rite, would be an appropriate selection. The theory that the hymnal should contain the great classics of all the ages must always be qualified by the limitations of space and by the question of whether their idioms of thought are such that they still express the mind of the modern man. One remembers the outspoken complaint of William Temple, while still Archbishop of York a dozen years ago, that there were so few hymns which he could sing with any sense of reality.

The criticism that the treasured associations of old hymns obscure the importance of fresh outpourings of the Divine Spirit applies to many hymn-books. But a living church, though it should not neglect its great heritage of hymnody, ought also continually to seek new lyrical expressions of its faith cast in the idiom of today. Users of the *Hymnal* will be grateful for the many new hymns of American authorship which they will find in it, some lovely ones by Dean Howard Chandler Robbins, two by Dr. Bowie, several by Canon Douglas, and many others. But the *Hymnal* could, to great advantage, have included at least two score others of American origin if the editors had ventured more widely afield. One wonders at the omission of Dr. Bowie's fine "God of the nations, who from dawn of days," of Chadwick's great hymn, "Eternal Ruler of the ceaseless round," of Matham's "Now in the days of youth,"

(the finest of all hymns for young people), of all the hymns by Dr. John Haynes Holmes, of Miss Bates' widely popular "O beautiful for species skies," of Miss Lathbury's "Day is dying in the west," (the tune is very inferior, but no more so than some which have been included), of Longfellow's "One holy church of God appears," to mention only a few.

One receives the impression that the editors have been over-cautious in their recognition of the voices which are singing the faith of the America of today and tomorrow. Their claim that "the large body of . . . American tunes . . . make the *Hymnal* as representative of a noble and characteristic American tradition as it is of the great traditions of England and of continental Europe" is far better justified as regards the music than as regards the hymns included. Through what seems to some of us an excessive devotion to medieval hymns and to those of the familiar Anglican tradition, and perhaps through hesitation to adopt more modern idioms, the editors have failed to make the *Hymnal* as fully representative of vigorous, forward-looking, lyrical religious life in America as it might have been.

In spite of these criticisms all hymn-lovers will welcome the *Hymnal* of 1940 as a great storehouse of Christian song, to be searched and valued for its many treasures old and new, and will congratulate those who use the book on their possession of what is by far the best collection of hymns and tunes which the Episcopal Church in this country has ever had.

THE UNIVERSAL DOCTOR

By W. NORMAN PITTENGER

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Interest in Albertus Magnus usually centers in the fact that he was the precursor and the teacher of Thomas Aquinas, the most distinguished of the scholastic thinkers. But it is not really quite fair to Albert, for he was a great man on his own account, and not merely the John Baptist of the thomistic philosophy. As we shall see, he made his own important and distinctive contribution to learning, and made it along a surprisingly large number of avenues, including natural science, psychology, philosophy, and theology.

First a word or so about his life. Albert was born at Lauingen in Suabia, somewhere between 1195 and 1207. He was a member of what would today be called a socially prominent family; his father was a knight, who represented the Holy Roman Emperor at Lauingen. He studied in Germany, later in Italy and perhaps in Paris, became a Dominican in 1223, completed his theological training, lectured at Cologne, Hildesheim, Freiburg, Ratisbon, Strasburg, and again at Cologne. He taught Thomas Aquinas in Cologne, from about 1243 to 1249. He was in Paris as *magister theologiae* for some years. From 1252 until about 1270 he was immersed in practical affairs, as bishop of Ratisbon, as legate to preach the crusade in Germany, as provincial of his order. One of his achievements was the drawing up of a study *ordo* for the Dominicans, which was prepared with the aid of Aquinas and others. As a bishop his

humble attire and old shoes won for him the nickname of "Boots the Bishop." In 1277 he journeyed to Paris to defend the doctrines of Aquinas (dead since 1274) against the attacks of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Paris. He died in Cologne in 1280.

During his lifetime Albert won a reputation throughout Europe for his prodigious learning and his powerful influence on young students, as well as for his written works, which form a library representing most diverse fields of interest. Someone has aptly remarked that he studied and described the whole cosmos from stars to stones; but he did more than that, he endeavoured to develop, admittedly on the basis of what he knew of Aristotle, a general philosophy which was adequate to this vast range of facts, and which was yet in complete harmony with the Catholic Faith—the faith to which he was devoted heart and soul.

What was the situation with which Albert was confronted? He had the more or less officially accepted neo-Platonism which came into the Catholic Church primarily through Augustine and also through the works of Pseudo-Dionysius; and he had the newly-recovered works of Aristotle, which seemed, on the surface at least, to contradict much that was essential to the Catholic theology. And it must be remembered, furthermore, that it was not Aristotle pure which was available to

him, but Aristotle very much interpreted, very much changed, in the course of transmission through the Arabian translators and Jewish commentators.

His great work, then, was to adapt Aristotle to the Latin races, as he himself expressed it, and to subject Aristotelianism to a sort of Catholic purging, so that this new philosophy, growing in favor among the intelligentsia and in Albert's own mind sounder than Platonism in its current form, could be used by churchmen without fear of heresy.

First of all, then, Albert set about paraphrasing the treatises which he knew. It is remarkable that he was able to study them so critically, and penetrate through the mass of commentary to what was essential in the peripatetic philosophy. All that Albert possessed were defective copies and revisions full of error and misinterpretation, yet he succeeded in getting underneath all these and finding the essential of Aristotle's philosophy—that he starts from the nature of things and induces from them general principles, whereas the Platonic system starts from general principles, universals, and from them explains particular phenomena.

The working through of all these known writings of Aristotle was not merely an arduous task, but to do it also meant that Albert was a man of considerable courage. For the accepted philosophers of the Church were not sympathetic towards the newly discovered works, and that not without reason, for unquestionably they contained heretical teaching in several directions—the notion of the divine being, the conception of immortality, etc.

But Albert did the job. Admittedly he failed to present a coherent philoso-

phy—for his work was a strange mixture of comment, paraphrase, and personal interpretation. Furthermore, he did not hesitate to introduce now and again wherever he felt it desirable to do so the older philosophic thought, which was, as we have seen, of Platonic persuasion. Yet his total system is a massive attempt to work out a general philosophy which will prepare the way for the data of revelation when they are given by God.

But in others of his works he gives a fairly complete sketch of neo-Platonic philosophy, one which sounds now and again rather like Proclus. How he could fit in this particular type of metaphysical speculation with his more generally accepted Aristotelianism is a question which we are not called upon to answer. At any rate, while he was partial personally to Aristotle he seemed to feel it his task to present these restatements of the several schemes which came to his attention, and he left their coordination to others. It was Aquinas especially who welded them all into some kind of a unity, in which the peripatetic philosophy held the master's place, and the others each contributed its share to the whole, with the divine theology as the queen of them all—for *it* deals with the facts of revelation, which are the crown, not the denial of natural philosophy and theology.

But it is clear that in the philosophical field, "Albert's greatest importance rests on the fact that he recognized the value of Aristotle's teachings as a basis for a genuine Christian philosophy." He not only saw the intrinsic significance of the scientific works of Aristotle, but he also saw how his philosophy can be used to aid in building a Christian dogmatic system—

yet he did not take over without correction the whole of Aristotle's teaching any more than that of Augustine or Pseudo-Dionysius—although he used Aristotle's fundamentals, his general superstructure and also some of his detailed analyses.

For instance, in the problem of universals, Albert followed Aristotle, not Plato. Universals exist, he said, in three-fold manner—*ante rem*, *in re*, and *post rem*; prior, in the divine intelligence; in it, that by which a thing has the nature precisely proper to it; after, in the human understanding, by abstraction from the thing as object of knowledge. But he corrects Aristotle by pointing out that the universal is of many things and *in* many things. Again on the question of the knowledge of God, he followed the Aristotelian proofs, but by using material from the Fathers, notably Augustine, he modified Aristotle to such an extent that his arguments attempt to achieve the proof of a being who has at least some of the characteristics of the Creator God of Christian philosophy and is not solely the chilly Aristotelian Unmoved Mover.

A detailed discussion of Albert's philosophic construction is not necessary here. A short summary—perhaps too short—may be found in De Wulf's *History of Medieval Philosophy*, and a better outline in Wilms's *Albert the Great*. What we should especially emphasize is the impetus which Albert gave to the whole movement of medieval thought. He started Thomas Aquinas on his way, and that was perhaps his greatest contribution. But he also did a work on his own account. Not merely did he sketch out the peripatetic metaphysics and psychology as we have already seen. He also contributed largely to the study

of natural science and wrote a *summa* of science for his day. In this matter, it may be well to cite a few facts from Prof. Thorndike's history of scientific thought. Albertus, we learn, was not content with merely classifying the species, as his predecessors had been; he engaged, in some sort, in actual experimentation and personal observation of the phenomena of nature. We are given by Thorndike and others a list of his contributions in the field of botany, zoology, entomology, ichthyology, ornithology, and cosmography. He also did significant work in chemistry. Generally, once again, he followed the lines laid down by Aristotle, but he did not hesitate to correct the Greek master whenever he found from his own experience that the actual facts were different. As an example—he rejects the statement of Aristotle that lunar rainbows appear every 50 years only; adducing observation to prove that they may happen as often as twice a year. There are many other similar instances.

In the field of moral theology, too, Albert was an important figure. He lectured extensively on this subject, taking the ethics of Aristotle, and working them into a scheme in which there is a full place for the Catholic doctrine of God, eternal perfection as man's goal and the norm of his actions, the natural law as revealing the will of God, the place of conscience as the judge in individual cases, the power supplied by divine grace in man's growth in virtue.

Once again, mystical theology attracted him, and it is chiefly here his views seem to have been very largely moulded by the neo-Platonic strain in medieval thought. It is in this region that he became the master of the thought

of such men as Eckhart, Suso, and the leaders of the Friends of God movement. And finally, in his *Summa Theologica* he produced a balanced dogmatic theology. This work is somewhat like the better known *Summa* of Aquinas, although the arrangement of the material is very close to that of Peter Lombard's *Sentences*. It opens with a discussion of the nature of theology and moves on to the detailed discussion of the principal dogmas of revealed religion. His position on the relation of philosophy and religion may be put briefly: philosophy is concerned with the problem of being, of being in general, so to say; theology with the nature of God; philosophy depends on self-evident or metaphysical truths, theology on the dogmas of faith which man's unaided reason could not discover. But both have truth as their object, and so both afford revelations of God, who is Truth, although they are on different levels and reach that Truth in different ways.

It is important to emphasize this point. For it is precisely this which Aquinas took up and developed when he made his division between the truths of natural philosophy and the truths of revelation. Neither thinker had any use for the doctrine that there can be two kinds of truth, one for philosophy and one for theology, mutually contradictory yet equally true. This position, which was popular in Paris among defenders of the new philosophy, was argued down first by Albert, and then, at greater length and more adequately, by Thomas Aquinas.

We should also mention, in this con-

nection, that the epistemology espoused by Albert, as later by Thomas, was what we call today moderate or critical realism—knowledge is derived principally through sense perception, upon which the intellect works to arrive at general principles. Here we have an Aristotelianism which is tempered somewhat, in Albertus, by a Platonistic mystical strain. But for him intellect was always supreme and autonomous in man; its knowledge is obtained primarily through the senses, and not through any irrational means or through some mysterious "insight" which can do away with the ordinary sense perceptions.

Finally, by his defense of Aquinas at Paris in 1277, Albert deserves to be known as the first Thomist. He did not defend his dead pupil's philosophy without subjecting it to careful study, and it was his effort which finally resulted in the approval given to Thomism by his Order at Montpellier in 1278, and which later influenced the Church towards the general approval of Thomism by papal authority.

This sketchy paper has indicated some of the reasons for which Albert was given the title, Universal Doctor. He covered practically the whole of the knowledge of his time, brought it into some sort of unity, and so prepared the way for what was to come after. More than that, he made his own contribution to the learning of his age; and then had the humility and good sense to recognize and acclaim the work of one who was his pupil but who had gone on to develop that knowledge in a broader manner. Perhaps that recognition is the measure of his greatness.

THE JOHANNINE-SYNOPTIC ARGUMENT

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The question of the Jewish date of the crucifixion passover is of even greater importance than the Julian date, which is obviously based upon it. The problem appears primarily to depend upon understanding the festal terms employed—first in the time of Moses, then in the crucifixion century, and later on in the period of the Talmudic recension. Inasmuch as many diverse conclusions concern the death passover of Christ, the argument here presented is closely connected with the events of passion week and their corresponding outline. We are attempting to demonstrate (1) harmony between the Johannine and Synoptic passovers, and to offer (2) interpretation of the texts commonly set forth as evidence of chronological disagreement between John and his associate gospel writers.

I

A study of the Outline of passion week on page 108 will reveal the fact that the NT phrase *τὰ ἄζυμα* ("unleavened bread"), commonly found in the genitive, occurs in several of the gospel references to the paschal season. This expression is a typical Synoptic term; and yet, both Mark and Luke apparently would have it understood that at the time of their writing, the festal names *τὸ πάσχα* and *τὰ ἄζυμα* were being used interchangeably in a general sense.¹ However, the second of these seems to have been Luke's favorite in representing the

passover season,² and probably Matthew's as well.³ Josephus also recognizes the alternative use of these two festal terms in his own day.⁴ He even calls the "fourteenth" the "day of unleavened bread."⁵ But with Jesus and John, the passover was always *τὸ πάσχα*, although John frequently added *τῶν Ἰουδαίων*.⁶ His terminology is consistent, for John himself taught his communicants in Asia the original form of Jewish passover observance, in contrast to a different type adopted by the European churches.⁷ And in addition, as is well known, the so-called Christian passover in early times had many variations that were founded upon many different cycles, so that the feast in Europe was commonly observed in a different month and on another date from that of the Johannine passover, as represented by Scaliger.

These circumstances may account in part for the appearance of a general name for the paschal period in the first century. Nevertheless, the phrase *τὰ ἄζυμα* without any doubt had origin from OT practice, whose primitive laws stipulated that unleavened bread should be eaten with the roasted lamb on the four-

³ Matt. 26: 17.

⁴ Ant. XVII.1. 3; B.II.1. 3, etc.

⁵ B.J.III.1. Thackeray: "When the day of unleavened bread came round on the fourteenth," etc.

⁶ John 2: 13; 6: 4; 11: 55.

⁷ Joseph Scaliger, *De Emendatione Temporum*, Francofurt, 1593, 105.

¹ Mark 14: 1; Luke 22: 1.

² Acts 12: 3; 20: 6.

teenth day of the first Jewish month.⁸ Such was the case with the passover both for the clean, and for the unclean.⁹ Ceremonial regulation made sharp distinction between the passover itself, which Jehovah called "my sacrifice," and "my feast,"¹⁰ and which was also termed the "feast of the passover,"¹¹ and the consecrated unleavened-bread festival of the fifteenth, which Christianity understood to be the symbol of purity,¹² and not a sin-offering.

In harmony with this special significance, OT law ascribed to each of these feasts a different date, commanding that the passover was to be slain at sunset,¹³ "in the fourteenth day . . . between the two evenings;"¹⁴ but that on the fifteenth day of the same month was to be the "feast of unleavened bread."¹⁵ This *fifteenth-day* feast, therefore, was not the passover festival, according to OT command, and could not consistently coincide with the eating of the paschal sin-offering, because it (the feast of the fifteenth) was accompanied by a prescribed sin-offering of its own.¹⁶ But

under Talmudic law, "the fifteenth day of Nisan was the first day of the Passover,"¹⁷ and the fourteenth as such is no longer observed.

It is commonly understood that the fourteenth of the first Jewish month was an ordinary day—one on which a man could buy and sell, and work. But it was also a day, as Philo puts it, on which each Israelite household became the symbol of a temple,¹⁸ where the offerer brought his innocent paschal sacrifice to Jehovah as a substitute offering for sin, and where the blood was originally brushed upon the lintel with hyssop,¹⁹ instead of being sprinkled upon an altar. On the contrary, the fifteenth was set apart as a holy day because, as is obvious, the entire camp of Israel had thereupon become free from the leaven of sin, and hence was commanded to keep a feast of purity for seven days.²⁰ But not, however, without customary atonement through the sacrifice of the special sin-offering, which was eaten by the priest in the holy place.²¹

The lesson for the fourteenth day was impressive. It was for the individual as Philo implies. Thus once a year an Israelite was specially reminded that atonement through sacrifice could be made at his own door,²² though in sight

¹⁷ A. W. Streane, *Translation of the Treatise Chagigah*, Cambridge, 1891, 36 n.

¹⁸ Philo, Vol. VII, *Special Laws* II, xxvii, 145. 1937. (Loeb Classics.)

¹⁹ Ex. 12: 22; Heb. 11: 28.

²⁰ Ex. 12: 15; 23: 15; Num. 28: 17.

²¹ Num. 28: 22; Lev. 6: 25, 26. Ant. III.x. 5.

²² Regarding "private altars:" Philo, Vol. VII, *Special Laws* II, xxvii, 145, 146, 148. 1937. Loeb. Maimonides, *De Sacrificiis Liber*, tr. Compiegne de Veil. Londini, 1683, 4. Ant. XVII. ix. 3; B.II.ii.3. Edward Greswell, *Dissertations*, Vol. I, Oxford, 1830, 80. Joseph Klausner: "According, however, to an earlier

⁸ Ex. 12: 8, 18; 23: 18; Num. 9: 3, 11; Deut. 16: 3. Thus Philo: "The victim is then slaughtered and dressed for the festal meal which befits the occasion. The guests assembled for the banquet have been cleansed by purificatory lustrations, and are there . . . to fulfil with prayers and hymns the custom handed down by their fathers. The day on which this national festivity (*τῆς πανδήμου εὐωχίας*) occurs may very properly be noted. It is the 14th of the month. . . ." (Vol. VII, *Special Laws* II, XXVII, 149. Tr. Colson, 1937, Loeb Classics.)

⁹ Num. 9: 11.

¹⁰ Ex. 23: 18.

¹¹ Ex. 34: 25.

¹² I Cor. 5: 7.

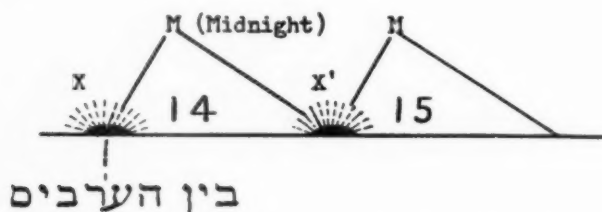
¹³ Deut. 16: 6. Cf. Gesenius *שש* on this text—interpreted as sunset.

¹⁴ Lev. 23: 5.

¹⁵ Lev. 23: 6; Num. 28: 17.

¹⁶ Num. 28: 22.

of the temple. Along with the sacrificial meal was to be eaten the unleavened bread representing purity and truth. But the contrasting sacrifices of the fifteenth day were always offered in the temple court, and depicted the consecration of the entire Israelite assembly—a holy convocation—to which the special burnt offerings are witness.²³ The spiritual character of these two feasts necessarily demanded two wholly different dates, and it is as essential to demonstrate the calendar difference between them as to state the symbolic difference. The following diagram illustrates:



Three time specifications relate to the passover sacrifice: (1) in the fourteenth day; (2) at sunset; and (3) בין הערבים. Obviously, the time X, at the beginning of the fourteenth, is the only period where all three stipulations could meet. At X', the whole paschal ceremony—for the individual—would occur on the fifteenth, a holy feast for the entire camp!

Pentateuchal application of the dual phrase בין הערבים is in harmony with the foregoing interpretation. This festal term is found nine times in the books of Moses,²⁴ and corresponds to a limited sacrificial period between two adjacent days. This two or three hour interval was called "the time of the evening

ruling, which held good among the priestly party almost to the close of the period of the Second Temple, the Passover was regarded as a private sacrifice, and one which might not abrogate the Sabbath rules."—*Jesus of Nazareth, His Life, Times, and Teaching*. Tr. by Herbert Danby. New York, 1925, 326.

²³ Num. 28: 18 f.

²⁴ Cf. Outline, ref. 17, on p. 108.

oblation."²⁵ It began at the ninth hour of the Jewish day, but was also reckoned as the actual ending of the day,²⁶ and at this time the worshipers were kneeling in prayer without the temple.²⁷ This period was continued by Christianity as the hour of prayer.²⁸ Anciently in this interval (1) the lamb for the evening burnt offering was sacrificed;²⁹ (2) the evening incense was burned and the lamps lighted;³⁰ and (3) annually the paschal lamb was slain at sunset.³¹

These acts of worship by both people and priest pointed toward the beginning of a new day. The burnt sacrifice rep-

²⁵ Dan. 9: 21.

²⁶ Ant. III.x.1; B.J.VI.ix.3.

²⁷ Luke 1: 10.

²⁸ Acta 3: 1; 10: 30.

²⁹ Num. 28: 4.

³⁰ Ex. 30: 8; Ant. III.viii.2.

³¹ Deut. 16: 6. Cf. Joseph Klausner, *Jesus of Nazareth*, New York, 1925, 326. For sunset sacrifice among Karaites, Samaritans and Falashas: Adrian Reland, *Antiquitates Veterum Hebraeorum*, Batavia, 1717, 275. *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement*, London, January, 1902, 82. Chwolson also proves from the Targumim and the Talmudic literature that in the usage of the later times בין הערבים did not mean the same space of time as is fixed by the recognized Halcha—the afternoon—but was used as the synonym of השמחות. *Das Letzte Passamahl Christi*, Leipzig, 1908, 37, 157 ff.

resented consecration of the nation for the ensuing night;³² the burning lamps gave light for approaching darkness; and the sinking sun manifestly dated the new day—not the old. It was therefore an *event of calendar significance* when the paschal lamb was slain in *בין הערבים* at sunset; and the offering unquestionably must have been dated with the new day—either just begun, or about to begin. And this new day, according to the Pentateuch, Philo, and Josephus, was the fourteenth of the first Jewish month.³³

Consequently, the slaying of the paschal lamb on the Jewish fourteenth could occur only at sunset *ineunte* of the passover day, and still maintain its calendar and spiritual significance. On this account, the favorite conception that the national paschal lambs were being slain at the hour of the death of Jesus is both contrary to ancient Jewish law, and to the earliest known Jewish cycle as well—that which is based upon the commentary of Aristobulus.³⁴ Instead, the customary evening burnt sacrifice was

³² Thus Philo, "for the benefactions of the night." (Vol. VII, *Special Laws* I, xxxv, 169. Tr. Colson, 1937. Loeb Classics.)

³³ Cf. ref. 8, and Ant.II.xiv.6, which also dates the paschal feast on the fourteenth. The original Greek here is very revealing.

³⁴ Aristobulus was a learned Jew of Alexandria in the time of Ptolemy Philometor, to whom he wrote a series of commentaries on Moses (*Eusebii Pamphili Chronici Canones*, ed. Fotheringham, London, 1923, 221), in which he locates the paschal month in relation to the equinox, and describes the exact position of the paschal moon in relation to the sun (*Nicolai Nancelii, Analogia Microcosmi ad Macrocosmon, Sec. Pars.* Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1611, col. 1204). Anatolius of Laodicea based his paschal cycles upon the teaching of Aristobulus (*Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, Sec. Series, Vol. I. New York, 1890, 319).

obviously being offered by the temple priest. The ninth hour, when Jesus died, was three hours too early for the passover offering, according to Deuteronomic law; and the Talmudic law that times the offerings several hours earlier on a Friday afternoon,³⁵ was a later redaction. As recent as 200 A.D., the Mishna acknowledges that the paschal lambs had customarily been slain at dusk.³⁶

Let us attempt identification of the day on which Jesus died. *First*: With some, it was Wednesday; with a few, Thursday. But all four gospel writers call the crucifixion day *παρασκευή*.³⁷ And all four limit the term to the sixth day of the week—the day before the Jewish Sabbath.³⁸ Josephus likewise,³⁹ and also the Syriac church and the Greek church.⁴⁰ Talmudic MSS, with a passover on the fifteenth, further declare that Yeshu "the Nazarean" was hanged on the eve of the passover, and an ancient Florentine MS reads, "on the eve of the Sabbath."⁴¹ *Second*: Was this crucifixion Friday the ancient Jewish passover day, that is, the day of slaying the lamb? The Synoptists each report that disciples were sent by the Lord to prepare *τὸ πάσχα*, and in each instance one and the same simple conclusion is stated—"and they made ready *τὸ πάσχα*." In addi-

³⁵ Herbert Danby, *Mishnah*, Pes.5.1; Sab. 1: 11. Oxford, 1933.

³⁶ Ibid. Pes.5.10. Cf. Daniel Chwolson, *Das Letzte Passamahl Christi*, Leipzig, 1908, 163, 164.

³⁷ Matt. 27: 62; Mark 15: 42; Luke 23: 54; John 19: 42.

³⁸ Besides the texts in ref. 37, cf. Matt. 28: 1.

³⁹ Ant.XVI.VI.2. Greek text.

⁴⁰ Charles C. Torrey, "Date of the Crucifixion According to the Fourth Gospel," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. L, 1931, 234, 235.

⁴¹ San. 43a, cf. Note.

tion in these same texts, Jesus Himself is cited four times as speaking of the preparation of τὸ πάσχα. Moreover, John, according to Luke, was one of those sent to prepare τὸ πάσχα;⁴² and when, decades later, John writes his account of the passion, he mentions a point of time immediately preceding the actual supper he had helped to prepare, and describes it as πρὸ δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς τοῦ πάσχα.⁴³

Further evidence is also forthcoming from the fact that on Tuesday evening, at the end of the day, when all were seated upon the mount of Olives,⁴⁴ the disciples, all keenly intent upon the words of their Master, must all have heard Him say, "Ye know that after two days is τὸ πάσχα." This could not have been other than the sunset beginning of Friday and give place for all the episodes of passion week (cf. Outline). Matthew reports this incident, and Mark confirms it.⁴⁵ And, together with John 12: 1, when, six days before, John had pointed to the ensuing Friday as τὸ πάσχα, we have accordingly at least fifteen different assertions by Jesus, John, Matthew, Mark and Luke that Friday of the crucifixion—Jewish time, from Thursday evening sunset to Friday at sunset—was the day of the passover, that is, the day for slaying and eating the paschal lamb. To this sacrificial ceremony the death of Jesus corresponds in meaning, and therefore necessarily in date.

Third: The passover sacrifice is the chief fact upon which astronomy must needs base the reckoning of the crucifixion, for OT law and custom supply

the Jewish date to each undated NT passover, namely, the fourteenth day of the first Jewish month, and not the Talmudic fifteenth. And when the Synop- tists obviously equate the paschal sacrifice of the "fourteenth" with the complex τὰ ἄρῳμα, chronology has to accept the festal term chosen, and not confuse it with the OT "fifteenth," on which no paschal lamb was ever slain.

It therefore follows that after the death of Christ, first century changes in the Jewish sacrificial calendar were naturally accompanied by the appearance of festal terms which could not exist in the strict OT sense and its pentateuchal ceremonies. The discard of the slaying of the passover lamb on the Jewish fourteenth obviously gave way to the observance only of the ancient feast of the fifteenth, which came to be described by both Christians and Jews as the "days of unleavened bread." With the Christian church, however, this remnant of the passover ceremony took on renewed spiritual meaning, but adopted a general terminology that was not as specific as that pertaining to the OT feasts, which were based upon three agricultural harvests—those of the "floor and winepress."⁴⁶

Pursuant of the argument thus far presented, several additional facts make it obvious and apparent that Matthew, Mark and Luke did not reckon Friday of the crucifixion to be the holy feast of unleavened bread of the OT "fifteenth" of the Jewish first month.

First: The Tuesday evening episode has already been mentioned that Jesus, Matthew and Mark each counted the passover *fourteenth* as "after two days," which would be the sunset beginning of the Jewish sixth day of the week.

⁴² Luke 22: 8.

⁴³ John 13: 1.

⁴⁴ Matt. 24: 3; Mark 13: 3.

⁴⁵ Matt. 26: 2; Mark 14: 1.

⁴⁶ Deut. 16: 13. Heb.

Second: Further evidence lies in the fact that each Synoptist—not John—reports the incident with reference to Simon of Cyrene, who was coming from the field—ἀπ' ἀγρῶν—when he was compelled to bear the cross. If, in the minds of the Synoptists, Friday had actually been the sacred feast of unleavened bread, the "high day" of the festival, during which all work was anciently forbidden,⁴⁷ the Simon incident would have at least provoked inquiry and comment. But there is no intimation at all by these NT writers that this circumstance was not in full harmony with Jewish law.

Third: In each of the two rival crucifixion years—30 and 31 A.D.—when in both cases the paschal new moon was passing through apogee—a Jewish fifteenth on Friday of passover week would shorten the moon's translation period one day, and thereby cause the month Nisan to begin a whole day before the moon could actually be seen.⁴⁸ It is altogether inconsistent that Jesus should be represented by the Synoptists as consenting to a questionable form of calendar in the preparation of τὰ πάσχα.

Fourth: Hebrew scholarship would naturally see in the three Synoptic references—Matt. 26: 17, Mark 14: 12, Luke 22: 7—an allusion to the "feast of unleavened bread." Thus Delitzsch, Salkinson, Chwolson, and others. Both Delitzsch and Salkinson insert תנ in their translation of Matthew and Mark, although there is no word for "feast" in the original Greek. But such an interpretation distorts the chronology. On the contrary, NT scholarship presents τὰ ἄζυμα as its general term for the paschal season, the first day of which had literally come, according to the foregoing texts. Josephus goes further in calling the "fourteenth" the "day of unleavened bread." (Cf. ref. 5.) Thus we see this NT festal term in common use when the Gospels were written, and when Josephus wrote "Wars."

These facts seem more consistent than an emendation of Luke 22: 7⁴⁹ to agree with a

hypothetical translation of Matthew and Mark. Moreover, the records of Matthew and Mark include an indisputable earmark of the paschal nature of their supper, namely, the mention of the Hallel, which was only sung on one night of the year—after the paschal supper.⁵⁰

Fifth: If John and the other gospel writers had been discordant in their computation of the passover date, how does it come about that not only all the disciples, but Jews too from every part of the Near East, were in full agreement over the date of Pentecost, which they were observing on the same day? If there had been difference of opinion over the passover date, there was bound to have been variance over the date of Pentecost, which was reckoned from the offering of the wave sheaf on the sixteenth.

The foregoing circumstances lead but to agreement only with the gospel writers—not to disagreement.

II

And now as to other texts that are supposed to represent discord in the NT chronology. If in John 18: 28, for example, all had eaten the passover the night before, what was the "passover" which the Jewish priests and officers were still planning to eat? The OT answers this question.

The OT law is specific with regard to its use of the word "passover," which does not always refer to the paschal lamb. Moses speaks of the passover of the flock,⁵¹ and the passover of the herd.⁵² This same distinction is illustrated in particular in the passovers of Hezekiah and Josiah.⁵³ In both feasts

⁴⁹ Matt. 26: 30 and Mark 14. 26. Cf. Klausner, *Jesus of Nazareth*, 1929, 104, 122, 329.

⁵¹ Deut. 16: 2. צאן, a collective noun, *flocks, sheep and goats* (Gesenius).

⁵² Ibid. בקר, collective, signifying *oxen or cattle* (Gesenius).

⁵³ 2 Chron. 30: 24 and 35: 7, 9. Note the sprinkling of the blood in 30: 16, and 35: 11. The blood of the passover lamb was applied to the offerer's door in Jerusalem.

⁴⁷ Lev. 23: 7.

⁴⁸ And so Fotheringham, for the year 30 A.D., dates the Nisan new moon phase one day later than the Schoch calculation (*Journal of Philology*, Vol. XXIX, No. 57. London, 1903, 107).

⁴⁹ Samuel I. Feigin, "The Date of the Last Supper," *Anglican Theological Review*, Vol. XXV, No. 2, April, 1943, 214 ff.

bullocks and oxen are mentioned, and in the passover of Josiah they are cataloged as "passover offerings."⁵⁴ This special offering of the "herd" was a peace offering—הנינה.⁵⁵ Philo mentions it as the sacrifice *τῶν σωτηρίων*, signifying *deliverance*.⁵⁶ The peace offering had to be offered in the temple, and the blood sprinkled upon the altar.⁵⁷ Further description is given by Maimonides:

On the fourteenth day of the first month, when the paschal sacrifice was offered, peace offerings were made at the same time: and these indeed in the same manner as all the peace offerings of the herd and the rest of the flock, large and small, male and female: this obviously is that which is commonly called the festal offering of the fourteenth day, for in this manner the divine law regards it, "Therefore slay the passover to the Lord thy God—of the sheep, goats and beees. . . ."⁵⁸

Lightfoot also gives a similar account of the passover peace offering, and thereby explains John 18: 28:

The peace offerings for the solemnity of the time were called the Hagigah, and they were to be of some beast, bullocke or sheep. Hereupon in 2 Chron. 30: 24 and 35: 7, 8, there is mention of Bullocks and Oxen for the Passeeover; and in Deut. 16: 2, there is speech of sacrificing the Passeeover of the heard; which cannot be understood of the Passeeover that was to be eaten on the fourteenth day at even, for that was punctually and determinately appointed to be of Lambs and Kids, Ex. 12: 5; but it is to be construed of these peace offerings which were for the solemnity of the time. And this is that which Evangelist John calleth the Passeeover, when he saith, "The Jews went not into Pilate's judgement Hall, lest they

should be defiled, but that they might eat the Passeeover," John 18: 28. For they had eaten the Paschall Lamb the night before.⁵⁹

From Edersheim we have the same interpretation as the foregoing with reference to John 18: 28 and its implied peace-offering.⁶⁰ He adds that a *second Chagigah* was offered on the day of the feast of unleavened bread, and that this was the offering which the Jews were afraid that they might be unable to eat if they contracted defilement. From the Talmud we learn that the Chagigah of a high holiday such as the "first day of the Passover," was compulsory, while that of the fourteenth was not.⁶¹

The peace sacrifice, that signified festal joy, peace and thanksgiving for the mercy and forgiveness of Jehovah was a fit accompaniment to the feast of unleavened bread. Hence the absurdity in the scene in John 18: 28, lies not in the chronology, but in the fact that the actors were desiring to eat the passover peace offering, but at the same time were trying to kill the Author of peace.

III

In conclusion let us summarize the various texts which are supposed to offer so much opposition to harmony between John and the other writers:

1. In John 13: 1, the beginning of the scene is "before the feast of the passover"; but after the supper—consistently paschal—another feast is imminent (verse 29), which naturally

⁵⁴ 2 Chron. 35: 7, 9.

⁵⁵ הנינה, signifying festal joy (A. W. Streane, *Chagigah*, Glossary. 1891).

⁵⁶ Philo, Vol. VII, *Special Laws* I, xxxix, 212 ff. Tr. Colson, 1937. Loeb.

⁵⁷ Lev. 3: 2.

⁵⁸ Moses Maimonides, *Tractatus Primus de Sacrificio Paschali*, c. dec. XII. Tr. Compigne de Veil. London, 1683.

⁵⁹ John Lightfoot, *The Temple Service as it Stood in the Days of Our Saviour*, London, 1650, 162.

⁶⁰ Cf. Albert Edersheim, *The Temple*, 218, 219. Hodder and Stoughton, New York.

⁶¹ A. W. Streane, *Translation of the Treatise Chagigah*, Cambridge, 1891, 36. Strack-Billerbeck *Kommentar*, Vol. II. München, 1924, 837 ff.

is the feast of unleavened bread on the fifteenth.

2. In John's expression "preparation of the passover" (John 19: 14) occurs the precise confirmation of Luke's statement that the feast of unleavened bread was also called *Passover*. John calls it such. At the same time he implies that a passover was but the preparation for the feast of the fifteenth, all of which is consistent OT theology. And it should be remembered that John never employs the festal term *τὰ ἄζυμα*.

3. In John 18: 28, as has just been demonstrated, the "passover" yet to be eaten was the passover peace offering of the Jewish *fifteenth*.

4. In Matt. 26: 17, Mark 14: 12 and Luke 22: 7, the "unleavened bread" mentioned is not the *feast* of unleavened bread, but instead Christianity's name for the paschal season just then beginning, and her festal term in harmony with OT law, and first century practice.

In the Johannine language of the foregoing texts, emphasis is placed upon the feast of the fifteenth which was imminent—the "high day" of the Jewish Sabbath. The fourteenth therefore was

then in progress. In the language of the Synoptists, the emphasis is upon the opening event of the paschal season—the sacrifice of the lamb. The point of time, according to the OT, Philo, and Josephus, was sunset *בין הערבים* at the beginning of the fourteenth; and this must necessarily have been what Luke meant when he wrote, "Then came the day of unleavened bread when the passover must be slain." The sunset beginning of a new day had come—even the crucifixion *fourteenth*.

The important texts that definitely fix the chronology of passion week are (1) the five *παρασκευή* references that establish the day of the week; and (2) John 12: 1, 13: 1, Matt. 26: 2, Mark 14: 1, Luke 22: 15—two Johannine and three Synoptic—that point to death Friday as the day of slaying, preparing and eating *τὸ πάσχα*. This is the only Jewish date to which the calendar can tie.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Earliest Gospel. By Frederick C. Grant.
New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1943, pp.
270. \$2.50.

Professor Grant's Cole Lectures at Vanderbilt University embody his mature conclusions in what for years has been one of his favorite fields of study—the Gospel of Mark and the tradition lying behind it. In part these chapters consist in the restatement of conclusions set forth at greater length in his earlier books, *The Growth of the Gospels* and *The Gospel of the Kingdom*, and in numerous learned articles. Frequently he provides us with a clear and more succinct statement of his judgments; see, e.g., pp. 16 ff. (the meaning of "Kingdom of God"), 50 f. (the probable outline of Jesus' ministry), 84 (the Spiritual Christ), 163 f. (ancient and modern Christology). The book contains also a great amount of bibliographical information valuable to the graduate student, including what amount to thorough reviews of Lohmeyer's *Galilee and Jerusalem* and Werner's *Influence of Pauline Theology on the Gospel of Mark*. In the third place, one finds here solid new contributions to learning—particularly Chapter V, "Was Mark Written in Aramaic?" and Chapter VIII, "Mark's Passion Narrative." Finally, in many places the author speaks as theologian and Christian, making suggestions that deserve to be elaborated systematically. It is a book to be worked through with pencil in hand. The thought is so rich, so much is contained here, that re-reading is called for.

Even the summaries of Lohmeyer and Werner are more than reviews. To take one instance, on p. 203 f. Dr. Grant suggests that Werner's conclusions logically lead us to the following positions: (1) Gentile Christianity developed a high Christology and soteriology very early, (2) St. Paul was probably not converted till 37 or 38, and (3) Paul's diaspora Judaism differed greatly from the Judaism of Palestine or that of Alexandria.

But even if nothing were added, Dr. Grant has rendered a great service to American students by giving them these summaries. Werner's principle is that in estimating possible Pauline influence on Mark we should look at

the distinctive elements of St. Paul's theology and compare them, point by point, with the corresponding doctrines of Mark. By this standard, Paul is seen to be an individual thinker, while Mark simply represents the common heritage of Gentile Christianity. This thesis should now be regarded as established. Lohmeyer's book, while highly suggestive, is more debatable. Here it is argued that Luke and John represent a King-Messiah Christology which emphasized the bodily resurrection and located the appearances in Judaea; while for Mark, Jesus is Son of Man and heavenly Kyrios, and Galilee is the land of revelation, and the gospel looks forward, not to a resurrection appearance but to a Parousia in Galilee. There is much truth in this: it helps to explain the singular emphases of Mark's Christology, and fits in with other indications that a distinctive Galilean Christianity once existed. But one ought to remember that this does not mean that Mark's Galilean tradition had no resurrection accounts, merely that the Exaltation and expected Parousia are of more primary interest. In all probability the Galilean resurrection faith was similar to that of St. Paul—Christ was raised up (*ēgerthē, egēgertai*) and was seen (*ōphthē*)—and this reviewer has never been able to shake off the fancy that perhaps the original ending of Mark has been lost.

Chapter III has much to say about the Son of Man Christology and gives us studies of the occurrences of the term in Mark. Dr. Grant's conclusions seem inescapable. Apparently, in view of the researches of Lake and Jackson, Branscomb, Sharman and others, he does not feel it necessary to review the arguments showing this Christology to be due to the Church, not to our Lord. But the treatment is not quite complete without a study of "Son of Man" in the other sources. For example, his mention of Luke 12: 9 ("will be denied in the presence of the angels of God") leads me to suggest that perhaps this verse means that God, not the Son of Man, will deny the one who denies Jesus (cf. Luke 15: 7). And there are Q passages where "Son of Man" on Jesus' lips may be genuine, though this does not destroy the force of Dr. Grant's judgments

about Mark. It is worth remarking, moreover, that the influence of Galilean Christianity was not confined to Mark; if it emphasized the poverty ethic, as Professor Grant maintains, then there must be a Galilean element in L and the Epistle of James, and even in Q ("the Son of Man has not where to lay his head").

The chapter on the Aramaic problem begins with a contribution to the debate between Olmstead and Goodspeed over the meaning of the word *gilyonim* in the rabbinic writings. Grant concludes, with Strack, that the *gilyonim* are margins or end-papers, not "gospels." He goes on to examine, one by one, the passages where Professor Torrey finds evidence of an Aramaic original of Mark. The conclusion is that, while there are true Semitisms in Mark and many of Torrey's conjectures are illuminating and probably correct, the evidence is not such as to demand the existence of a complete Aramaic gospel. It is in the sayings and the old pericopes that one finds real Semitisms, not in the editorial framework, and frequently a glance at western and other variant readings renders recourse to Aramaic unnecessary. I cannot claim to have sifted the evidence as Professor Grant has, but in the *Harvard Theological Review* for April, 1943, I studied a few of the same passages and am gratified to find that my conclusions are similar. It will be interesting to see what answer, if any, will be made to Dr. Grant's chapter. We may hope that clergy and Bible teachers will examine it before accepting theories of Aramaic gospels.

One point may be mentioned in connection with the curious introduction to the parable of the Sower (4:30 f.), which Dr. Grant discusses. Mark's formula is closest to the rabbinic formula for introducing a parable, while Matthew's is farthest away. One wonders if the early Christian tradition ever used a formula "Parable of the Kingdom of God. To what is the matter like?"

Chapter VIII, "Mark's Passion Narrative," which attempts to reconstruct the tradition that Mark took over, is one of the most controversial parts of the book. Dr. Grant regards several pericopes, such as the anointing in Bethany, Peter's denial, and the Gethsemane scene, as not being part of the original narrative but introduced into it by Mark, though he does not always try to judge the value of the traditions contained in them. We may admit that most of them are not necessarily part of the Church's

official passion story. Perhaps the most debatable point concerns the examination before the high priest (14: 55-65). Certainly it bristles with difficulties; this cannot be the account of a legal Jewish trial, it is hard to know how the disciples could have got information of the proceedings, the Son of Man theology has influenced this story, which Mark probably told in order to shift some of the blame from the Roman government to the Jewish leaders, and in any case the real trial was before Pilate. Yet it does not seem impossible that the high priestly gang, who denounced Jesus to Pilate, may have first seized him and then attempted, by means of an illegal preliminary examination, to obtain information from him. Even though Jesus probably never claimed Messiahship for himself (see Grant's note on 15: 1-15, p. 178), there were others who would have liked to hail him as king. Mark contains much evidence of this—e.g. Bartimaeus at Jericho, the Triumphal Entry, and the Secret Anointing—stories which are not "Christian" and whose original significance Mark probably did not fully understand. And it was on the charge of being a royal pretender that our Lord was finally crucified. The disciples may have known one or two of the things that happened during the examination before the high priest, and have conjectured the rest.

At times the book is discursive and the argument hard to follow, as in the chapter on Mark's "anti-Semitism"; but to take this chapter as an example, it contains some wise words on interpretation of the Sermon on the Mount, particularly the command to be "perfect," which are fundamental for the understanding of Christian ethics. Likewise pp. 249-252 are required reading for everyone. Many a scholar is, like R. Eliezer ben Hyrcanus, a "plastered cistern which loseth not a drop," but Dr. Grant is, like R. Eliezer ben Arak, a willing spring.

SHERMAN E. JOHNSON

Episcopal Theological School

The Recovery of the Historical Paul. By Robert M. Hawkins. Nashville: Vanderbilt Univ. Press, 1943, pp. viii + 292. \$3.00.

It is Dr. Hawkins' thesis that the Pauline epistles have been very widely interpolated by a writer or writers representing the later stages

of New Testament thought—such as we find in Hebrews and the Pastorals. These interpolated passages (of which a convenient list is given at the end of the book) must first be removed and then the essential Pauline teaching will stand out clearly and consistently. Paul's gospel was a genuinely Hellenistic mystical doctrine of identification with Christ through the crucifixion of the flesh and of resurrection to a new and actually righteous life (not mere acquittal or justification) through the power of the Holy Spirit. "Paul's fundamental understanding of the work of Christ and of the nature of the Christian life rests squarely upon the central teachings of the mystery religions, with their myth of the death and resurrection of the dying-rising Savior God, and their equally fundamental conception of mystic enthusiasm, that is, that the believer may participate so fully in the nature and experience of the God that he becomes one with him. We become Christian by dying and rising again with our dying-rising Savior" (pp. 105 f.). With St. Paul this conception was of the utmost importance, as a clue to his own understanding of his Christian experience—i.e. he used the concept to make clear to himself and to others the meaning of the new life in Christ. But the next generation and the one following that produced no second Paul, but mere epigoni. We see this in the treatment later accorded the Pauline conception of mystery. Speaking of the last three verses of Romans (16: 25-27), Dr. Hawkins notes that these verses are recognized as spurious by many scholars. With this verdict he concurs. "The textual phenomena connected with these verses alone are sufficient to raise the gravest misgivings as to their genuineness. Their content is definitely non-Pauline. In them we see what the church finally did with the idea of a mystery. Paul undoubtedly understood the term as having reference to the story or 'myth' of a dying-rising Savior, with whose supreme and crucial experience we are so closely identified that we become new creatures, and participate in the divine nature. But this later, non-Pauline view, regards a mystery as something long concealed, now revealed. This gives heed solely to the esoteric and intellectual phases of a mystery to the entire exclusion of its 'mystic' character, so fundamental and characteristic in genuine Pauline thought" (pp. 150 f.).

It has been recognized for a long time that we do not have the Pauline epistles in their original form. Various theories have been advanced to account for the present state of the Pauline letters, and various reconstructions have been proposed, e.g. of the order of the Corinthian letters. A good many scholars hold that Marcion in editing his "Apostle," the nucleus of the earliest New Testament canon, thoroughly revised the letters of Paul. Others hold that textual corruption has overtaken many passages; the late Professor Lietzmann made a notable beginning (in the *Handbuch zum Neuen Testament*, preface to Romans) to sketch out the textual history of the Pauline letters. But no recent theory of the contents of Paul's letters has gone quite the length of Professor Hawkins' book. The rest of us have admitted that things are wrong with the text of Paul—but we did nothing about it. Along comes Hawkins with a thunderous challenge, which will have to be met! Of course the book must be studied carefully before it is either evaluated or—perhaps—answered. To begin with, one ought to underline, in a copy of the New Testament, the passages Hawkins rejects (I have done this and I recommend the method). Then there are a number of questions that arise, questions which would be interesting ones for a seminar in the letters of Paul to devote a whole year to discussing; for example, do the "authentic" passages, which Hawkins retains, presuppose material which he rejects? In the second place, is there any evidence from grammar or diction, or from peculiarities of thought or style, to support this sharp division which Hawkins finds between the authentic and the interpolated material? Professor Hawkins sets forth a strong argument for distinctive theological views; but can the same be said of diction and style?

I have a feeling that the book is too thorough, and sometimes wonder if the *real* Paul is to be found in the glosses or in the surviving text! (For example, see page 56.) But it is the advantage of a thorough book, one that pushes its theory to the very limit, that you have all the data before you and hence are compelled to see the problem in its entirety. I do not doubt that some of the passages Hawkins rejects have really been interpolated—they are bracketed in my own copy of the New Testament! I do not doubt that more thoroughgoing textual criticism would clear up some of the other

passages. And I do not doubt, in the third place, that if you bracket the material Hawkins rejects, you have on the whole the main theme and sequence of Paul's writing in what remains. So I should say the book is a very great help to us in understanding Paul. Like Socrates, Professor Hawkins goes about asking uncomfortable questions. He makes you stand and deliver, and will not let you go with the plea that of course Paul was a very great man and therefore (as Emerson said of all great men) inconsistent; or that he was really a mystic and soared above the low level of pedestrian logic. For Hawkins claims to have found a Paul who is perfectly logical, consistent, and at the same time a mystic and a genius.

It is very interesting to compare this book with almost the last book of the late Alfred Loisy, *Remarques sur la Littérature Épistolaire du Nouveau Testament* (Nourry, 1935). Both authors have a somewhat similar method—dichotomy. They are both like old-fashioned surgeons, who never hesitated "to take off a man's leg to save his life." However, they reject quite different passages—where Loisy amputates the right leg, Hawkins proposes to remove the left! That is, for Loisy the "mystical," "gnostic" Paul, "the apostle to Gentiles," is a later creation of ecclesiastical veneration and hero-worship. It might be thought that the two cancel out each other, like the Kilkenny cats, and therefore neither needs to be considered. But I do not think so. Instead, it seems to me that both Loisy and Hawkins point to the existence of a real problem, the complicated literary and textual history of a collection of letters written by a man of outstanding genius, who happened to be in a great hurry and wrote post-haste and with no thought of posterity; who probably had weak eyes, and relied upon the casual help of friends who acted as his amanuenses; who probably dictated much too fast for these friends; who may perhaps now and then have told them the substance of what he wanted to say, and left it to them to say it; who nevertheless impressed his own thought and style upon most of the letters that have come down to us under his name; and who came into his own only after two or three generations—just in time, and before it had forever become too late to preserve any of his correspondence; and then only to be all but submerged, almost at once, under a tidal wave of gnostic interpretation. What a destiny!

Habent sua fata libelli. It is really remarkable that the church preserved as much of Paul's correspondence as it did. And we ought really to be prepared to study the epistles objectively, and with an eye not only to their literary and textual history but also to their actual contents and primary meaning, without harmonization and without forcing. Even though we may not go the full length of Professor Hawkins' theory, we will nevertheless gain a clearer notion of the kind of man Paul was for working carefully through this new book.

FREDERICK C. GRANT

Union Theological Seminary

The Varieties of New Testament Religion.

By E. F. Scott. New York: Scribners, 1943, pp. vi + 310. \$2.75.

The theme of this book is similar to that of Streeter's *The Primitive Church* and Zenos' *The Plastic Age of the Gospel*: Streeter showed that variety of organization was a characteristic of the early Church. Zenos exhibited the varieties in religious emphasis. These last make up Dr. Scott's table of contents: Christianity was Jewish, Hellenistic, Apocalyptic, Pauline, Moralistic, Johannine, Roman, and though no one of these forms was exclusive of the others, each had its distinctive stamp. The essential simplicity of St. Paul's Christianity is eloquently presented, a simplicity which has to be almost exhumed from beneath his often quaint scribal arguments. The chapter on Johannine theology is illuminating, as might be expected from a noted authority on that subject. Even Apocalyptic Christianity is given an honored place in the variegated pattern. The section on the Epistle to the Hebrews is puzzling: the dominant idea of that tract is Christianity as the final covenant, foretold in Jeremiah, yet the word covenant does not occur in Dr. Scott's discussion. The priesthood of Christ is given a large place in Hebrews because "the conception of a covenant relation was not confined to the great inaugural ceremony, it was continued and ran through all the ceremonial of sacrifice in Israel" (T. H. Robinson in Moffatt's Commentary). The final covenant required the perfect priest not only to inaugurate it but to keep it in operation. The evils of sacerdotalism, and they are many, are corrected rather than encouraged by the Epistle to the Hebrews: those who had

achieved that free fellowship (*parresia*) which the author of Hebrews valued so much, would never submit their minds to the domination of a priestly caste who had been indoctrinated rather than educated. If the disputants on church unity who make appeal to the New Testament would read Dr. Scott's book, their opinions would be more enlightened than they sometimes are.

A. H. FORSTER

Seabury-Western Theological Seminary

The Fourth Gospel in the Early Church. By J. N. Sanders. Cambridge University Press; New York: Macmillan, 1943, pp. viii + 92. \$1.75.

This Kaye Prize essay at Cambridge in 1939 fills a real gap in the voluminous literature of the Fourth Gospel. It discusses not only the fact that various second-century Christian writers used the Gospel, but also the way in which they used it and the influence it had on them. Along with this valuable discussion and unusually full quotation of texts goes a somewhat questionable theory, however. According to Sanders the Gospel comes from a writer in Alexandria about 110. He was unorthodox only by later standards (in this discussion Sanders relies on the new approach of Walter Bauer in his *Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei*, which was published in 1934). The Gospel was first used at Alexandria by Basilides and the Valentinians; the oldest fragment of it we possess (P. Rylands Gk. 457) also comes from Egypt. Because of its "gnostic" origin and sponsors it had difficulty winning its way. Only after Irenaeus took over from the Valentinians their theory that the Apostle John wrote it could it be accepted by the church generally. Such is Sanders' theory; and it bears a strange resemblance to that of the Roman presbyter Gaius, who ascribed Gospel and Apocalypse to another heretic, Cerinthus (see my article in *Harvard Theological Review* 35 [1942], 95 ff.). The difference, of course, is that Gaius' grounds were polemical, while Sanders' are to be found in the confused historical notices of the second century. Nevertheless, on those grounds there are a few important witnesses to the tradition that the Fourth Gospel comes from Ephesus, not Alexandria. Papias of Hierapolis, who wrote in Asia during Trajan's reign (98-117) seems to have known the Gospel (J. V. Bartlett in *Amicitiae Corolla* [1933], 15 ff., and my note

in *ATR* 25 [1943], 218 ff.). Moreover, about the same time Ignatius and the author of the Odes of Solomon reflect what may be called Johannine atmosphere. These witnesses, of whom Papias is the most important, since later in the century he is called "John's dear disciple," are all earlier than Basilides or the Valentinians. And Basilides himself may have known the Gospel at Antioch, where he lived before going to Alexandria. Nevertheless, the Gospel need not be Antiochene, for Ephesus and Antioch were closely connected in the days of Ignatius as in those of St. Paul. And the positive evidence for Antioch as the place of the Gospel's origin is very slight. Ephrem Syrus cannot be quoted in its favor, for only one of the two Armenian manuscripts of his Commentary on the Diatessaron places John in Antioch. This manuscript was copied in the year 1195, and the copyist, Nerses of Lampron, must have made a mistake, as the other manuscript (also copied in 1195!) and the uniform Syrian tradition locate him at Ephesus.

Another argument against a "gnostic" origin may perhaps be found in the fact that *Themes from St. John's Gospel* (the title of a Princeton thesis by C. D. Lamberton) are to be found in the Capella graeca of the catacomb of Priscilla in Rome. Roman Catholic scholarship since J. Wilpert (followed e.g. by H. Leclercq in *Dictionnaire d'archéol. chrét.*, ii, 2, 2100) has dated these paintings in the reign of Hadrian; but more recent work places them in the second half of the century (cf. F. Wirth, *Römische Wandmalerei* [1934], 213 ff.; W. Eltger, *Zur Entstehung und frühen Entwicklung der altchristlichen Bildkunst* [1934], 22 ff.). Even so, their use of Johannine themes such as the raising of Lazarus confirms Justin's use of the Fourth Gospel at Rome about 150, though like the painter of the raising of Lazarus (Lamberton, p. 28) Justin apparently used the Gospel not officially, but in a somewhat free and individual way. Perhaps, as Dr. Easton suggests to me, the artist like Justin may have come to Rome from Asia Minor. And it was about this time that the Valentinian Ptolemaeus came to live in Rome. His use of the Gospel, therefore, need not reflect Valentinus' teaching, but that of the Roman church.

What in any case is striking about the use of the Gospel before Irenaeus is its casualness. Tatian and Theophilus quote it only in pas-

ing, and several other writers seem to prefer the synoptic gospels to it. It is hard to accept Sanders' view that Valentinian writers are primarily influenced by Johannine theology and do not merely quote his words as corroborative of their own teaching. To consider Valentinianism only a Christian heresy is to oversimplify; it was both allied to Christianity and standing outside it as a religion in its own right. The Valentinians quoted the Fourth Gospel more for what they could read into it than for what they could find in it. Yet there is a profound mystery about the origin of the Gospel which cannot be solved by a convenient formula; and Sanders' view may be more nearly true than more conventional ones. It is interesting to find the raising of Lazarus in the homily of the eloquent bishop of Sardis and in the Roman catacombs at a time when learned critics were rejecting it. Gaius, according to Eusebius, was "very learned," and the detailed arguments of the Alogi, like those of Apelles against the divine origin of Genesis, are essentially scholarly. Perhaps church officials, aware of the use to which Montanists and Valentinians were putting the Gospel, were willing to "throw out the baby with the bath"; but popular piety clung to this "spiritual gospel." We do not know.

Some minor points require discussion. P. 6 on Papias does not take into account the fact that Papias is Irenaeus' source in *Adv. Haer.*, v. 36, 2, where John xiv, 2 is freely quoted. P. 19: Although Lightfoot attributed *Diognetus*, xi-xii, to Pantaenus of Alexandria (and Sicily), there is no convincing reason to do so; these chapters are more often ascribed to Hippolytus (C. Bonner, *The Homily on the Passion by Melito* [1940], 61 f.). P. 28 (top): It is very difficult to believe in the existence of authentic oral tradition about the year 150, especially when the Fourth Gospel was in existence and probably at Ephesus, which Justin had visited. P. 37: It should be noted that no one knows where Heracleon's commentary on the Gospel was written (and he knows the Gospel as by John—Origen, *In Joh. Comm.*, vi, 2); it need not have been composed before 180, unless it was part of a commentary on all four gospels. P. 42: Epiphanius' statement that Valentinus was regarded as orthodox in Egypt is "a confused combination of different accounts" and hardly reliable (Lipsius in *Dict. Christ. Biog.*, iv, 1077). P. 43: The letter of Hadrian in

the *Historia Augusta* not only is a forgery but is valueless for the second century; it parodies the fourth-century situation. P. 59: R. H. Strachan in *Theology* for September 1943 remarks that if *Stauros* means Boundary Valentinianism is hardly a Christian heresy; but the same idea of *Stauros* as both Cross and Boundary is to be found in *Acta Iohannis* 98-100 (p. 199-201 Lipsius-Bonnet), a writing which is surely Christian even if confused. P. 60, n. 3: John xiv, 16 is translated as "another Paraclete," an interpretation rejected on p. 9, n. 7. P. 67: The phrase "Hellenistic theosophy" is somewhat misleading, for Sanders regards the Johannine interpretation as the true meaning of Christianity; but can theosophy be transmuted into Catholic faith? The phrase also ignores all the work which has shown the Semitic elements in the Gospel, and while these elements may have been exaggerated, they cannot be overlooked.

Aside from these points this is a very satisfactory book. The printing of texts in full has everything except expense to recommend it, and Mr. Sanders' sober and careful exegesis of the second-century writers is well worth following in detail. Even those who disagree with his main thesis cannot fail to learn much from examining it. We eagerly anticipate his next book, to which this one is the prelude. No one can understand Irenaeus or the earlier Alexandrian theology without a knowledge of the great rôle played by the Fourth Gospel, wherever it may have originated. Mr. Sanders shows how the way was prepared for the profound and difficult saying of Origen (*In Joh. Comm.*, i, 4): "One might venture to say that the first-fruits of all the scriptures are the gospels, and of the gospels the first-fruits is that according to John; whose mind no one can comprehend unless he has lain on the bosom of Jesus or received from Jesus Mary as his own mother."

ROBERT M. GRANT

Harvard Divinity School

Anglican Evangelicalism. Edited by Alexander Clinton Zabriskie. Philadelphia: Church Historical Society, 1943, pp. xiv + 283. \$3.00.

The members of the faculty of Virginia Seminary have here given us a substantial volume, prepared in honour of Dr. Wallace

Eugene Rollins, formerly Dean of that seminary. Besides an appreciation of Dr. Rollins, written by Dean Zabriskie, and a prefatory note by the Presiding Bishop, the book has three main divisions: an historical investigation of Evangelicalism in the Anglican Communion; a section on constructive theology, with essays on man's present situation, the person and work of Christ the Redeemer, and the nature of the Church; and a discussion of practical problems, with contributions on missions, preaching, the pastoral office and social ethics. The purpose of the book, as a whole, is to show the relevance of Anglican Evangelicalism to the contemporary scene.

The contributors include, besides Bishop Tucker and Dean Zabriskie, Dr. C. W. Lowry, Dr. Stanley Brown-Serman, Bishop Strider, Canon Charles W. F. Smith, Bishop Everett Jones, Dr. Russell Bowie, and Professor Mollegen. While the various essays are not of equal merit, all are stimulating and several of them are peculiarly interesting. It may be said, indeed, that the book represents Evangelicalism at its best, and should be widely read for this reason if for no other.

In this reviewer's opinion, the most valuable essays are those by Dr. Lowry on man's situation and need, by Canon Smith on the Church as the Body of Christ, and by Professor Mollegen on social matters. The first is a thorough and penetrating study, which must be read to be appreciated. The second, surprising in an Evangelical, comes to an almost thoroughly Catholic statement of the Church as mystical Body of Christ and shows the influence of the thought of leaders in the liturgical movement. But the last essay, by Professor Mollegen, is particularly to be cited. With firm insistence on the transcendence of the Kingdom of God, and with a vigorous maintenance of the theology of creation and redemption, the author re-states the eschatology of the New Testament in such a way that the Kingdom of God is seen as destroying, affirming and transforming human achievement, by reason of its two-fold nature as operative within history yet transcendent of it, saving it from frustration and pushing it to further ranges of achievement, while always judging it in its partiality, inadequacy and sinfulness. This theological position is then applied to particular ethical problems—and the result is a much more soundly based and soundly

stated view than that, say, of Brunner—to whom now and again there is a certain similarity. But, unlike Brunner, the need for and place of social action receives due recognition, without succumbing to a "this-worldly" religion.

This review is no place for detailed criticism of any of these essays, although there is much in them with which the reviewer disagrees, or which he would question very gravely. It is good, however, to see Evangelicals becoming articulate in these matters; and for one who is of the Catholic tradition rather than of the Evangelical, it is especially gratifying to note such a large area of fundamental agreement on matters of faith and even of practice.

W. NORMAN PITTINGER

General Theological Seminary

The Man of Alaska, Peter Trimble Rowe.
By Thomas Jenkins. New York; Morehouse-Gorham, 1943, pp. xviii + 340.
\$3.75.

A blurb on the flap of the jacket boasts that this book "is probably the most important biography ever to appear in the Episcopal Church field." The publishers did the author little service in making this claim. It naturally raises expectations in the reader which, frankly, the book fails to meet. Although there can be no question that Bishop Rowe was a hero and a saint and that Bishop Jenkins has done a workmanlike job in telling his story, anyone with even a slight acquaintance with biographies "in the Episcopal Church field" could name half a dozen whose subjects are as important in our history as Bishop Rowe and whose writers are at least as competent as Bishop Jenkins. For instance: A. V. G. Allen's *Phillips Brooks*, George Hodges' *Henry Codman Potter*, J. W. Suter's *William Reed Huntington*, Vida Scudder's *Father Huntington*, Robbins and MacNaught's *Doctor Teusler*, William Lawrence's *Memories of a Happy Life* (with H. K. Sherrill's continuation of it). Even some of the earlier, old fashioned, now seldom read works such as Wilson's *Bishop White*, Beardsley's *Bishop Seabury*, Stone's *Bishop Griswold*, and Bishop Chase's *Reminiscences*, might well, in the estimation of competent judges, be thought quite as important as the present volume.

Having said this, I hasten to add that Bishop Jenkins has given us an entertaining, sympathetic picture of a superlative missionary, whose career abounded in romantic adventure and well nigh unparalleled hardship and hazard, and whose devotion and consecration are beyond praise.

What to some readers may appear as a limitation is the frequently topical and episodic method of presentation. For instance, one chapter deals with the Bishop's work in founding and maintaining hospitals, another with his supplying reading matter to isolated miners; two consecutive chapters describe characteristic journeys from 1900 to 1936, another his trips to England, another his domestic history. Thus his episcopate is reviewed several times in different aspects and the reader is shuttled back and forth from the beginning to the end and from the end to the beginning again. Hence the book as a whole lacks pace, steady movement, climax; in short it lacks the story quality. But that may, to some readers, be a recommendation. And anything about Bishop Rowe is of interest, no matter how it is served up.

The illustrations, of which there are over forty, including a gorgeous color print of a painting of the Bishop, are well chosen and admirably reproduced. The jacket is exceptionally effective and appropriate. It is the work, we are told, of Ugo Mochi, "an Italian sculptor and opera singer," who, "with a lithographer's knife, cut the design from one piece of black paper." The end papers give us a tantalizingly inadequate map of Alaska. Why half the places mentioned in the text are not shown on it as an unexplained mystery. There is no index. This is unpardonable on the part of both author and publisher.

JAMES ARTHUR MULLER

Episcopal Theological School

Religion Faces the World Crisis. By Leroy Waterman. Ann Arbor: George Wahr, 1943, pp. xii + 206. \$2.25.

The author's concern is with ethical religion in the world today against the background of the ethical insights of the Old and New Testaments. He begins by considering the genesis of religion and makes two assumptions: "Religion exists for man and not man for religion. . . . All religion is personal, and outside of

personality does not exist" (p. 3). "Religion may . . . be summarized as man's persistent endeavor to adjust the reality within him to the most significant realities without, for the purpose of preserving and enhancing the values of personality" (p. 8). Religion varies in many aspects, and its latest change has been to come to terms with science (thus eliminating "traditional religion" from serious consideration). Science has not changed the nature or aim of religion, but it has made sweeping changes in everything else concerned with religion.

Judaism and Christianity have failed, the former because it promoted Jewish nationalism and the latter because it used Jesus "to promote a theological salvation in the hereafter and has hence been unable to utilize, or even to be fully aware of, his possible significance for mankind here and now" (p. 171). The author's elaboration of this thesis is a sweeping condemnation of Christianity, and it must be accepted as true of many portions of Christendom; but the ethical religion he desires has always existed side by side with ritual and belief, and it is this that he fails to see. He desires faith in an ethical God, who backs the moral order of the universe, but this has always existed in Christianity at its best. He demands faith in men, but fails to see that this can come only when men have already put their faith in God. In the last analysis, he demands a Utopian scheme of things which will banish theological, sectarian, and ritualistic distinctions, which will bring a new age, and which will eliminate competition in economics, national sovereignty in politics, and traditional sectarianism. Ethical religion can do this, he says, and "this is no hare-brained utopian urge." But his faith would be deeper and more realistic if he had a good dose of Reinhold Niebuhr.

RANDOLPH CRUMP MILLER

Church Divinity School of the Pacific

A Prayer Book Manual. Louisville: Cloister Press, 1943, pp. vii + 123. \$1.00.

Although produced by its "Boston Group," this little book is published under the sponsorship of the Episcopal Evangelical Fellowship. Since each chapter is the work of an individual member there is a natural divergence in treatment, somewhat remedied, however, by collective criticism and editing. The cere-

monial usages recommended are, of course, such as find approval among liberal Evangelicals and that larger circle of moderate Churchmen who dislike party labels but who want the Prayer Book services rendered with reverence and dignified simplicity. Some of the specific suggestions are decidedly to the point: e.g., "What a pity more parishes do not use the *Venite* antiphons." On the other hand, the opportunity is lost of commending the use of a hymn or anthem between Epistle and Gospel—a practice both liturgically and psychologically sound, the neglect of which is one of our major liturgical weaknesses. Thorough Confirmation instruction and the responsibilities of sponsors are properly stressed. There are salutary observations touching frivolity at weddings and sentimentality or vulgarity at funerals. The

chapter on the Visitation Office presents some pertinent criticisms, and is, perhaps, the most thoughtful part of the book—though not all will agree with what seems to be its main contention: that no special office for the sick is needed.

The theological position of the authors comes out in the statement that "almost (*sic*) all branches of the Church Catholic use Baptism." Again, the last of the baptismal vows is described as "one of religious maturity couched in Episcopal language." Apparently the vow is held to be redeemed when the child joins any Christian body. Here is ecumenicity with a vengeance! Why not, then, advocate free interchange of Church membership?

P. V. NORWOOD

Seabury-Western Theological Seminary

NOTES ON NEW BOOKS

Twentieth Century Philosophy. Edited by Dagobert D. Runes. New York: Philosophical Library, 1943, pp. 571. \$5.00.

The essays in Part One of this symposium on Twentieth Century Philosophy provide a survey of the different fields of philosophical study. Starting with an article on Ethics by James H. Tufts the nine essays in this section of the book take up Aesthetics, Philosophy of Law, Philosophy of History, and other familiar subdivisions of the field, ending with an essay of special interest by Douglas Macintosh on "Theology and Metaphysics." Part Two is made up of thirteen essays by representatives of different schools of contemporary philosophy, among them Bertrand Russell, Jacques Maritain, Santayana, Flewelling, Montague and Dewey. Taken as a whole the book presents a splendid survey of the field of present day philosophy, and one that has authority, because the proponents of the several points of view are allowed to speak for themselves. For the most part the book is free enough from technical philosophical language so that it can be enjoyed by any reader who has an intelligent interest in present day thought. The material on contemporary Russian philosophy in John Somerville's essay on "Dialectical Materialism" and the essay on "Philosophies of China"

by Wing-tsit Chan give this work a breadth of range not ordinarily found in books of this kind.

C. L. S.

Three Christian Transcendentalists. By Ronald Vale Wells. New York: Columbia University Press, 1943, pp. x + 230. \$2.75.

The author has picked out three obscure Christian philosophers and attempted to show how they developed a substitute for Calvinistic orthodoxy. They were Christians who were influenced by secular thought and desired an intellectually respectable theology. Their transcendentalism was "an assertion of religious faith that was neither derived from natural science and natural rights and in that sense transcendental nor dependent upon ecclesiastical tradition and in that sense philosophical" (pp. 146-7).

The difficulty with this study is that the three men differed so widely in their sources and use of terms that any real evaluation of their significance is impossible. They left no schools of thought, but they were forerunners of many ideas which today have become common place. Their thinking was constructive and philosophical and their primary interests were religious. Yet their transcendentalism

became, in other hands, increasingly secular; their philosophical approach did not commend itself to religious thinkers; and their names have become and will remain obscure.

R. C. M.

The One Story. Edited by Manuel Komroff. New York: Dutton, 1943, pp. 223. \$2.50.

This is a conflation of the four Gospels into a single narrative of the life of Christ, employing the King James translation. No incident has been omitted, and no material added, though the selection and rejection of parallel passages from the several sources seems to have been somewhat arbitrary. In general the Johannine narrative of the ministry has been used for the basic structure, into which the synoptic material has been fitted. Since the compilation ignores critical considerations entirely, its value is very slight, and the uninformed reader might well receive the wholly misleading impression that this is the narrative complete and in order.

A. W. W.

Exiled Pilgrim. By William Hubben. New York: Macmillan, 1943, pp. x + 261. \$2.00.

"Exiled Pilgrim" is the autobiography of a German Quaker schoolmaster who was born a Roman Catholic. It not only depicts the religious evolution of a sensitive and gifted man, but projects the development of that life against the political background of contemporary Germany.

There are fascinating elements of human counterpoint in the story, from the medieval-like piety of the Catholic grandparents to the international social consciousness of the English Friends. The book will make good reading for all those who enjoy following the personal story of a religious exile from Nazi Germany.

M. M.

The Religion of the Prayer Book. By Walden Pell and P. M. Dawley. New York: Morehouse-Gorham, 1943, pp. viii + 219. \$2.50 cloth, \$1.50 paper.

Since this volume presents the faith and practice of the Prayer Book, it is therefore also a handbook on the faith and practice of the Church. Beginning, as does the Bible, with

God, it continues with His children; the prophets; His Son; the new Israel or the Church, with its growth, institutions and worship. The second section treats of the obligations of Christians and the difficulties in the Way of Life and in the final section the Christian's life in the Church, through the Sacraments to Eternal Life.

This should be a very useful book. It is simple and interestingly told and easy to read. The Clergy will find it helpful for instruction classes and addresses. Every adult preparing for Confirmation might be required to read this book and would greatly benefit. It should be "The Book of the Month" for all Churchmen who desire instruction.

W. E. C.

A Collection of Prayers from the Ancient Armenian Book of Office and Divine Liturgy. Compiled and translated by Terenig Poladian. New York: The Delphic Press, 1943.

These prayers, culled from the Armenian service books and the private devotions of St. Nerses Shnorhali (d. 1173), despite their antiquity, are still fresh and living expressions of the devout and contrite heart. Placed side by side with the original Armenian, the simple rendering of the translation is suitable to all ages and conditions of men; and the brevity of phrase makes these devotions easily memorable. Its pocket-size format makes the collection a fine gift for men in the armed services, especially those of Armenian ancestry.

M. H. S., JR.

Soul of Russia. By Helen Iswolsky. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1943, pp. xiii + 200. \$2.75.

This is an illuminating book for all interested in learning more concerning the real nature of Russia's religious life. Miss Iswolsky is convinced that Russia's true history is her spiritual history. The "spirit" of Russia has developed, she believes, according to a definite pattern, the various motifs of which find expression in her great thinkers, saints, and heroes. The book is not concerned with controversial subjects. It is a presentation of the points of view and emphases of the forces and movements which have been, and still are, influential in developing Russian spirituality.

The chief interest of the author is to show how the various movements and leaders in Russian history have been making for *universality*, particularly by preserving the old ideal of social justice and human solidarity founded upon brotherhood, which is "the true expression of Russia's soul." All the chapters are interesting; we might signal as of special value those on the Raskol movement, on Yury Krijanitch, on Peter Chaadaiev, on Wladimir Soloviev, and that on the Russian Catholics. The book can be warmly recommended as a valuable introduction to the study of the religious forces operative in the Russia of the past and still active today, as well as for evidence of the genuine religious strength of the Russian Church.

P. S. K.

The Building of Eternal Rome. By E. K. Rand. Harvard University Press, 1943, pp. xi + 318. \$3.50.

Prosaically speaking, this book might be described as a survey of Latin Literature. Actually it reveals how Latin writers, at least many of them, might claim that

With wonderful deathless ditties,
We build up the world's great cities
And out of a fabulous story
We fashion an Empire's glory.

In other words, just as the meaning and magic of the word England has been fashioned and fortified by certain well known lines of Shakespeare, so the vision of an Eternal City, call it Rome, Byzantium, Moscow or the City of God, was first seen and then shown to mortal men by the poets and philosophers and historians of ancient Rome.

Many who in their youth, felt that Virgil, Horace and Cicero were only written as grammatical puzzles will wish that they had had this book as collateral reading.

A. H. F.

Science, Philosophy and Religion, Third Symposium. Edited by Lyman Bryson and Louis Finkelstein. New York: Conference on Science Philosophy and Religion in their relation to the Democratic Way of Life, 1943, pp. xix + 438. \$3.00.

This collection of papers reminds one of the knight who, on hearing of a damsel in distress, sprang on his horse and galloped off in all

directions. Whether the damsel was rescued is not related, whether these symposia rescue democracy remains to be seen. Philosophy and religion have many representatives, science has too few; art, not mentioned in the title, has five or more. Some of the papers really throw light on the subject at issue: for instance the one by David E. Lilienthal on "The Unification of Specialized Knowledge in Practical Affairs." The ancient Greeks had some ideas about democracy; has anyone pictured it better than Isocrates? The Greeks also knew something about symposia, yet there is no one to speak for them here.

A. H. F.

The University and the Modern World. By Arnold S. Nash. New York: Macmillan, 1944, pp. xxiv + 312. \$2.50.

We have known the university as a pleasant bourgeois institution, an unconscious product of the aristocratic theory of education, on the one hand, and of Jeffersonian democracy, on the other; in which "a student above the grade of moron can proceed to the Bachelor's degree with only a few faint gestures toward the higher learning" (R. M. Hutchins); where the attitude toward social life was partly that of the detached spectator, partly that of the ambulance driver, but almost never that of the active participant; and which has "taught more or less explicitly a philosophy whose fundamental tenets are that man, if not perfect, is, like the world itself, slowly getting better and that presuppositionless science . . . is the main agent whereby—through education—this progress can be maintained" (p. 259). This type of university, whether we like it or not, is on the way out; if Barr, Hutchins and Temple have not made it clear, the Army and Navy have. Mr. Nash, chaplain to the Student Christian Movement, well known in this country as a lecturer and preacher, sets forth in this exciting book the problem and the way to a solution:

The conclusion . . . is that the Christian Churches need a fellowship of lay theologians or Christian scholars who would view it as part of their vocation as a Christian intelligentsia to create a Christian world view within which the conclusions of the specialized subjects of the university curriculum could be given their ultimate meaning in terms of a specifically Christian philosophy of man and of his relation to the historical process (p. 287).

This is not an adequate review of the volume, which deserves discussion in a series of articles; it is simply a notice to all who are interested in education that here is a book whose ideas must be taken seriously.

S. E. J.

The Jewish Spirit Triumphant. By Harry Joshua Stern. New York: Bloch, 1943, pp. x + 213. \$2.50.

Rabbi Stern, who lives in Montreal, does not attempt anything involved or pretentious in these brief addresses which were delivered to his congregation or on the radio or at public meetings. But he brings to them a wealth of learning, makes them interesting and direct, and in them deals with an amazing variety of subjects. Certain simple themes are hammered home again and again: the glory of the Jewish tradition, the kinship of Judaism and Christianity, the importance of intelligently understanding Christian and Jewish culture, the virtues of love, courage and sympathy. From this book the Christian preacher can learn much about how to teach people his own tradition.

S. E. J.

The Short Story of Jesus. By Walter Lowrie. New York: Scribners, 1943, pp. xvi + 238. \$2.50.

Someone has described the Bishop of Gloucester as "one of the most usefully learned men in the Church of England"; in the American Church, Dr. Lowrie deserves similar praise; witness his work on Christian archaeology, Kierkegaard, the origins of the Christian ministry, and gospel criticism. Many of us have insisted that just the thing attempted here should be done for our people: a bold, interesting, reverent, relevant setting forth of the results of gospel study. Here is a running exposition of Mark and some of the passages in Matthew and Luke, illuminated by bright flashes of illustration drawn from all the author's many fields of study, and written in vigorous and beautiful English. This is not to say that we would agree at every point with the interpretation, which draws much from Schweitzer and pays scant heed to form criticism; nevertheless it is a book which goes at things the right way and will open many a man's eyes. It is particularly recommended for the intelligent service man.

S. E. J.

Climbers of the Steep Ascent. By Mary Jenness. Louisville: Cloister Press, 1943, Leader's Guide, pp. 79, \$0.50, Pupil's Reader, pp. 141, \$0.90.

We are indebted to Miss Jenness for an excellent course of study for high school students on the history of the Church through the life and work of heroes in the Church. This course ought to be widely used for several reasons:

1. High school is about the only age level where you can teach church history effectively as usually only high school students have a general history background. To try to teach it earlier than this is like paddling a canoe upstream.
2. This course is so constructed that there is ample opportunity for an interesting time as well as a time for work.
3. It is obvious that the background for this course has been carefully laid. "The Church of Our Fathers" by Roland Bainton has been one of the few resources for teaching church history, and Miss Jenness has made full use of that.

Finally, the Pupil's Reader is interesting enough for high school students to use it quite independently of the study course. The Cloister Press has been doing distinguished work but none of it exceeds the distinction of this.

M. M. W.

The Altar and the World. By Bernard Idings Bell. New York: Harpers, 1944, pp. viii + 148. \$1.25.

What Dr. Bell writes is provocative in content and forceful in style. Here are fourteen meditations on the successive parts of the Holy Communion service, designed to be of "some help in rediscovery of the Liturgy as the Sacrament of Society." And so they are. The approach is devotional and homiletic.

M. H. S., JR.

Selections from Hellenistic Philosophy. By Gordon H. Clark. New York: F. S. Crofts, 1940, pp. ix + 267. \$1.25.

This very useful volume contains selections for Epicureanism (an abridgement of Lucretius, in T. Jackson's translation), the Stoics (44 pages from Von Arnim's *Fragmenta*!), Plutarch (from the *Moral Essays*), Philo Judaeus (*On the Creation of the World*), Hermes Trismegistus (*Poimander*, and Tractates ii, vi, ix, and xiii from the *Corpus Hermeticum*), and Plotinus (IV iii, IV vii, V iii, V ix, VI ix,

chiefly on the soul and the hypostases). The translation of the *Hermetica* is from the (unpublished) one by the late Prof. W. R. Newbold, of the University of Pennsylvania; the passages from Plotinus are by the editor, from Bréhier's text and French translation.

For "background" of New Testament and Early Church History, this is a volume we have been looking for!

F. C. G.

Mater Ecclesia: An Inquiry into the Concept of the Church as Mother in Early Christianity. By Joseph C. Plumpe. Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1943, pp. xxii + 149. \$2.00.

This monograph is a fine addition to the new series of Catholic University publications. Under the able editorship of Johannes Quasten, a new flowering of *religionsgeschichtlich* research of the best tradition is developing in the patristic and liturgical fields. Prof. Plumpe has traced the origins of the "Mater Ecclesia" concept as it matured in the ante-Nicene Fathers. Its root probably was in Asia Minor, particularly Phrygia, the home of the *μήτηρ*-cult, and also of the churches to whom St. Paul wrote of "the Mother of us (all)" (Gal. 4: 26). It is interesting that Marcion's reading of this text substituted *sancta ecclesia* for Jerusalem. The first clear use of *Mater* as a

title for the Church is found in the letter of the churches of Vienne and Lyons, written in 177 to their "mother" churches in Asia, and in Irenaeus, himself an Asiatic. The author ventures the conjecture that the North African church of Tertullian and Cyprian received the idea from a similar source—cf. the emigration of Montanists to North Africa. The testimony of all these Fathers is explored, as is also that of Clement and Origen, and, later, Methodius. Incidentally, there is an excellent discussion by the author of Origen's ecclesiology, an aspect of his thought not always understood or appreciated.

Rome seems to have been diffident in accepting the concept. It is anticipated by Hermas and Justin, who were Easterners. Hippolytus is unacquainted with it, curiously. Prof. Plumpe might have cited I Peter 5: 13 in his opening chapter on Scriptural prototypes. He says, "the appeal to the motherhood of the Church is one of affection, of sentiment and emotion. . . . Rome chose to assert her claim to the primacy on other grounds, historical and juridical, not on an emotional appeal imported from the East." The importance of such a limited study as this can thus be seen. Through Cyprian and Augustine ("in imagination . . . only half a Roman") an Eastern strain ultimately enters into the Roman Catholic terminology of the Church.

M. H. S., JR.

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